THE ART OF CONFLICT:

RENMANTS OF GREEK AND PUNIC EXCHANGE FROM THE SIXTH TO FOURTH CENTURIES BCE

by

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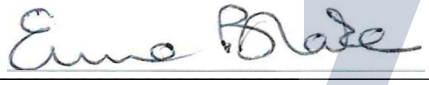

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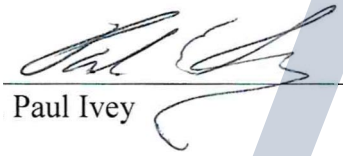

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This thesis took shape as much through time spent studying in Sicily as through my time spent in classrooms, libraries, and archives in North America. As such, I owe a great debt to many people and institutions that have facilitated the travel, access to resources, and most of all, the time it took for me to learn enough about Greek and Punic art and archaeology to write this thesis. When I began, I intended to write a thesis on the power of Greek culture throughout Sicily. Questions of interaction and exchange were ultimately inspired by my first semester at the University of Arizona when I studied the enigmatic marble sculpture of a youth from the Punic sanctuary in Motya. It was in those first months studying the sculpture through the patient guidance of my advisor Dr. Irene Romano that I found an opportunity to discuss artistic influence. I greatly appreciate her tolerance in navigating me through the narrow bridge between art and archaeology as I stay true to my studies as an art historian.

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A thesis is not written alone, and I have mentioned only those who put in the most time and effort institutionally and intellectually to help me see this through. Those who read drafts of pieces or the whole work—my committee, especially—improved immensely both the finished product and my scholarship. I thank them again for this; they are superior role models. The responsibility is entirely mine for all mistakes and shortcomings in the form and substance of this text.

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Table of Contents

Abstract

Sicily, as a crossroads of the Mediterranean, is no stranger to the occupation of non-native people. Its history of change and occupation made Sicily a melting pot of cultural identity, and the island should be studied as a nexus of cultural hybridity. The fifth century BCE marked a pivotal moment on the island, as the rising conflict between the Greeks and Carthaginians culminated in war until the eventual subjugation of Greek lands at the hands of the Romans in the third century BCE. Remnants of material culture, whether monumental architecture, currency, trade of small objects, or dedicatory sculpture, offer modern scholars a chance to trace critical moments of interaction in Sicily. This thesis explores such moments in the history of Sicily's material culture in order to propose a new understanding of the interaction between Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily, especially during periods of heightened conflict between the two cultures.

By closely studying moments of intense conflict, as well as significant material remains and works of art, this project aims to provide a more complete picture of the complex nature of interaction in Archaic and early Classical Sicily. The subsequent chapters will explore material culture from Punic, Greek, and indigenous sites for evidence of influence spurred by interaction. Using specific sculptural and architectural monuments on the island as case studies, namely the Motya Youth statue found at the Sanctuary or Cappidazzu in Mozia, two Greek archaizing stelai from the *Campo di Stele* at the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary in Selinous, and the Doric temple of Segesta, I show the ways that cross-cultural influences permeated the material culture of all peoples of Sicily. Future research will continue to dispel the colonial myth of "Hellenization" and show that the culture of Sicily was a mosaic and unique blend of Punic, Greek, and indigenous convergence in the sixth to fourth centuries BCE.

I: Introduction

Historical interaction in Sicily can be traced to the arrival of Phoenician merchants and Greek colonists in the eighth century BCE. In the six centuries that followed a new map of Sicily developed of Phoenicio-Punic settlers occupying the western coastline and Greek colonies holding the eastern coastal plains, pushing indigenous settlements inland (Fig. 1). Continued conflict between the inhabitants of the island until the Roman invasions in the late 3rd century BCE leveled Greek and Phoenician cities alike. The separation delineated by these conflicts continues in the modern study of ancient Sicily. While Greek scholars have tracked the Hellenization of the eastern part of the island, those whose interests lie in western expansion track the interaction between Phoenicians and indigenous populations in the west.[1]

Modern scholarship, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has looked at ancient settlement in Sicily and southern Italy as a small window in the larger study of the Greek world, with Magna Graecia as a case study for the diffusion and expansion of Greek politics, economy, and cult.[2] The image of Greek colonization provided a framework, if not a roadmap, for

[1] Hans Niemeyer tracks the expansion of Phoenicians in Sicily, though little mention is made of interaction between Phoenicians and Greeks. This is particularly noted in "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean. Between Expansion and Colonisation: A Non-Greek Model of Overseas Settlement and Presence." in *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas,* edited by Gocha Tsetskhladze, Brill, Leiden, 2006: 143-168. Emily Modrall and Lela Urquhart have both addressed these issues in their own dissertations as a tradition of separation between Greek and Phoenician disciplines. See Lela Urquhart, "Competing Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 75, No. 1, 2014 and Emily Modrall, "Indigenous Identities in Punic Western Sicily." (University of Pennsylvania, 2011).

[2] Ross Holloway's *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily* continued this Greek expansion narrative of Greek hegemony in ancient Sicily. Edward Freeman makes attempts to address Punics in Sicily in *Sicily: Phoenician, Greek, and Roman,* but influence still seems unilateral, on the part of the Greeks only. *Greek Colonisation,* edited by Gocha Tsetskhladze in 2006 provides a clear outline of the strongest narrative of unilateral Greek influence and expansion during the rise of colonization in the sixth to fourth centuries BCE.

the greater motivations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century imperialism. This narrative was aided in large part by studies of the Greek world as ancient forebearer of Western Civilization.[3] The study of Greek influence is not a new phenomenon in this light, but especially in Sicily the trajectory of influence is not so clear.

Beginning in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, Sicily experienced its first resettlement since the prehistoric arrival of its so-called "indigenous" inhabitants. Phoenicians, expanding west since the tenth century, left their stronghold at Carthage, and began settling merchant outposts along Sicily's western coastline. The small island of Motya off the coast of Marsala is the earliest such settlements. Around the same time, Greek colonists arrived along Sicily's eastern shores; their first colony, as Thucydides (VI.2.6) tells us, was a settlement at Naxos, founded by colonists from Chalcis on Euboea. One year later, the *oikist* Archias traveled west with Corinthian citizens from Tenea and founded the colony of Syracuse, one of the wealthiest and most powerful colonies in the centuries of Greek habitation in Sicily. Over the next two centuries, Greeks expanded their territory further west across the island, eventually encroaching on Carthaginian territory. The tension of close contact ignited a siege of the Sicilian Greeks' northwestern city Himera in 480 BCE, launching the Sicilian Wars, and pitting Carthaginians (termed "Punic") and Greeks against each other for over two hundred years.

The conflict between Punic people and Greeks in Sicily is understood primarily as a history of separation and division, marked by hostility and conflict. This division is echoed in modern scholarship's separation between Greek and Phoenicians studies in Sicily.[4] While the overall

[3] Lela Urquhart, "Competing Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy," *Journal of the History of Ideas.* Vol. 75, No. 1, 2014.

[4] Scholarship does not seem to bridge the divide between Phoenicians and Greeks, much as their narratives reflect this separation between the two ancient cultures. Urquhart's "Competing

image provided by the Sicilian Wars is one of destruction and hostility, the continued interaction between these two powers provided, as this thesis will argue, a conduit for close cultural contacts and an exchange of ideas between Greeks and Carthaginians on the island. A study of Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous settlements in western Sicily allows us to understand the close interaction that has too often been overlooked by divisions between disciplines and by a focus on the Western Classical tradition.

Thesis Project

This thesis project aims to investigate instances of interaction between Punics and Greeks during the period of heightened conflict during the first Sicilian War (ca. 580-350 BCE). Studying the styles, techniques, iconography, and use of major artistic projects in areas of significant interaction will shed light on potential cultural influences between Greeks and Phoenicians and create a deeper understanding of the influence and exchange of Archaic and Early Classical art in Sicily. Sculpture and architecture make up the major areas of study. Though ceramics may certainly mark evidence of interaction or influence, their use as trade goods does not aid the detection of closer interaction and influences in the same way it does in sculpture and architecture, where large investment displays an intentional stylistic change born from influence, and not consumption of trade goods. In this study, evidence of interculturality or multiculturality comes not just from the stylistic changes to the sculpture and architecture mentioned, but from their use in a religious context which speaks to a deeper interaction between cultures.

In the subsequent chapters I will examine works of art and high-status architectural projects in Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous Sicily and propose a more fluid understanding of interaction

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Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy" (2014) discusses this division between disciplines concerned with expansion of Phoenicians and Greeks in Sicily.

on the island. By looking primarily at sculpture and architecture that represent a larger financial investment because of their size and important religious role, this paper will investigate instances of acculturation by both Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily at the height of conflict between the fifth and third centuries BCE. Sculpture provides a unique opportunity for the study of visual influence between Greeks and Carthaginians during the Greco-Punic wars. Unlike pottery, large-scale sculpture during this period is less likely to have been disseminated through trade, and so offers a more intimate look at the close contact between settlers in Sicily. Numismatics, though helpful in understanding the role of portraiture and other civic representations in the propaganda of early Greek tyrants in Sicily, does not provide proof of interaction, as styles are specific to the city-states, rulers, and their deities.[5] Therefore, I have chosen as my case studies the following: The Motya Youth statue found at the Sanctuary or Cappidazzu in Mozia, two Greek archaizing stelai from the *Campo di Stele* at the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary in Selinous, and the Doric temple of Segesta.

I hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of colonial Sicily and a shift in the framework of our understanding of ancient Sicily. Where centuries of hostility in ancient Sicily tempt modern scholarship to think in terms of "Greeks *versus* Punics" or one culture *versus* the general "other," equal agency should be given to Phoenician and Greek settlers alike for the role conflict played in influencing each other, but also to the indigenous groups they displaced. In addition to the shared role of Greeks and Punics in influencing the artistic development of ancient

[5] For example, coinage of eastern Sicily specifically feature iconography specific to tyrants and patron deities, as seen most often in the coinage of Gela, Syracuse, and Aetna, minted during the Deinomenid Tyranny. Adoption of Sicilian Greek minting traditions by Carthage in the fifth century have been studies by Jonathan Prag in "Siculo-Punic Coinage and Siculo-Punic Interaction," *Bolletino di Archeologia on line,* Vol. A, 2010, 1-10, but the type of influence discussed is more broad and doesn't speak to the close interaction studied in this project.

Sicily, it is important to see the centuries of conflict not for the separation they underscored, but for the moments of interaction and growth that such moments fostered.

For the purposes of this study of cultural identity, a theoretical understanding of the role of material culture in Classical Sicily is a critical starting point. The tyrants of Greek Sicily in this period enhanced their foothold of power through religious propaganda and utilizing the priesthood of certain cults and the minting of new coinage to highlight their military victory and right to rule. In this regard, scholarship has much to say. Greek power on the island, however, did not exist in a vacuum in which tyrants waged war against unknown enemies. The Carthaginians in western Sicily have enjoyed significantly less celebrity and study in modern scholarship. Hans Niemeyer offers one theory on the dearth of interest in Phoenician material culture, stating "neither the historiographers of classical, i.e. Graeco-Roman antiquity nor the authors of the Old Testament—still our two main sources—ever had a specific interest in reporting on Phoenician matters correctly and in detail. On the contrary, the Phoenicians were always just 'the others', often enough the enemy."[6]

Competing Traditions: Postcolonial Sicily

Sicily offers fertile soil for the study of interaction and exchange, but there seems to have been little interest in a balanced discussion of Punic and Greek influence on the island. In the last thirty years, a methodological discussion of hybridization has grown in popularity. In the study of ancient Sicily, this tradition is even older.[7] The downfall of many of these discussions, however,

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[6] Hans Niemeyer, "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean. Between Expansion and Colonisation: A Non-Greek Model of Overseas Settlement and Presence." in *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas,* edited by Gocha Tsetskhladze, Brill, Leiden, 2006: 143-168.

[7] Discussions of hybridity and interaction in regard to Ancient Sicily can be traced back archaeological records of Di Vita and Tusa in the mid-twentieth century, particularly in regard to the Punic and Greek influence at the Sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous. For an example

is their not so thinly-veiled Hellenocentrism. A clear illustration of the lingering impact of old ways of thinking about pre-Roman western Sicily is Ross Holloway's opening statement in the second chapter of *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*: "To most of us ancient Sicily means Greek Sicily."[8] Even attempts to track the intercultural structure of ancient Sicily, such as Edward Freeman's *Sicily: Phoenician, Greek, and Roman*, address Phoenicians as the eastern "other" in the larger narrative of Greek cultural influence in Sicily.[9]

In the last decade, attempts have been made to right the course of the discussion. Lela Urquhart's continued study of the historiography of colonization in Italy offers a model we might follow in understanding the cultural diffusion of ancient Sicily: Italian scholarship. Since the eighteenth century Italian scholarly discourse regarding ancient Sicily and southern Italy has emerged as a "celebration of non-Greek indigenous past...pushing back against the European idealization of the Greeks."[10] Indeed, there is a long tradition of Italian scholarship working to dispel the myth of a "westernized" Sicily. In 2006, an article deriding the "romanizzazione" of the Phoenician site of Soleis (modern Solunto) as reductionist sheds light on the oversimplification of the western narrative.[11]

This does not mean that Italian scholarship does not recognize the significant influence of Greek culture that spread following the colonization of the island in the eighth century BCE. Vincenzo Tusa, best known for his excavation of Egesta (hereafter referred to by its modern name,

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of earlier discussions of cross-cultural interaction, see Antonio Di Vita, "Le Stele Puniche dal Recinto di Zeus Meilichios a Selinunte." *Studi annibalici: atti del Convegno svoltosi a Cortona*, 235-250, Perugia, 1961.

[8] R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily,* London: Routledge, 1991, 43.

[9] Edward Freeman, *Sicily: Phoenician, Greek, and Roman,* London: Putnam and Sons, 1902.

[10] Lela Urquhart, "Competing Traditions in the Historiography of Ancient Greek Colonization in Italy," 37.

[11] Elisa Chiara Portale, "Problemi dell'Archeologia della Sicilia Ellenistico-Romana: Il Caso di Solunto"*, Archeologia Classica,* Vol. 57, 2006, 49.

Segesta), writes specifically about Greek culture as permeating an imaginary boundary made by Selinous and Himera, the two easternmost Greek settlements.[12] In Tusa's argument, we see an early attempt to blur the stark boundaries of Phoenician *versus* Greek cultures in ancient Sicily. This thesis will build from Tusa's attempts to measure Greek and Phoenician interaction, but rather than supplementing the literary record with material evidence, the artifacts and architectural monuments themselves will provide the roadmap.

Scholarship on Phoenician westward expansion also seems to be moving toward an understanding of interculturality in the western Mediterranean. Rebecca Martin's *The Art of Contact* warns against the inclination to "calcify cultures," especially Hellenic or Phoenician culture as groups spread and interact.[13] Josephine Quinn also seems to be acutely aware of the classification "Phoenician" being a modern one.[14] Certainly, "Phoenician" scholarship readily discusses the fluidity of the groups who mapped the Mediterranean and understands the dangers of culture studies centered on such starkly delineated groups. For the efforts of this project, Carthaginian or Punic are perhaps better labels to describe the peoples we find in contact in Archaic and early Classical Sicily. Efforts to distinguish these terms may be used below, but as Martin reminds us, we may "still find [these terms] convenient as long as we use the terms carefully and understand that they are our own."[15]

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[12] Vincenzo Tusa, "Greci e non Greci in Sicilia", *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*,Actes du colloque de Cortone: 1983, 299.
[13] Rebecca Martin, *The Art of Contact,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017, 12.
[14] Josephine Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.
[15] Martin, *The Art of Contact,* 12.

Historical Background: Greeks in Sicily

The eighth century BCE in Greece is marked by monumental building, burgeoning ritual activity, and westward expansion. Fertile soil and a strategic position led Greek travelers to Sicily. Landing on the eastern coast, these colonies quickly spread across the north and south of the island. Its volcanic activity resulting in tremendously fertile soil made Sicily desirable, and the colonies thrived. Beyond colonies founded from mother cities on the Greek mainland, new sites in Magna Graecia quickly found independence, and *poleis* were established under ruling tyrannical dynasties who found a foothold on the island. With this expanding power, *poleis* in Sicily quickly expanded to form their own colonies.

Thucydides remains one of the most thorough ancient sources on the Greek colonization of Sicily. Though the opening chapters of his sixth book continue to raise more questions than answers, it does provide a general overview that archaeologists continue to look to in order to understand the complicated early years of colonial Sicily. The traditional timeline as provided by Thucydides (VI.3.1) and confirmed in the late first century BCE by Strabo (VI.2.1-9) records that the first colony in Greek Sicily was Naxos (calculated in the year 734), founded by settlers from Chalcis on Euboea, led by Thucles. Strabo credits the success of Greek inhabitation to the apparent weakness of the natives. The archaeological record seems to confirm this, particularly in Naxos where Aegean materials seem to wipe out any indigenous material record around the late eighth century BCE.[16]

The year following, settlers from Tenea followed the *oikist* Archias from the Corinthia and founded the colony of Syracuse. The foundation myth as provided by Thucydides (VI.3-4) and

[16] Adolfo Dominguez, "Greeks in Sicily", *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas.* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 258

Plutarch (Moralia 772e-773b) offers insights into the general tradition of Greek colonialism in the eighth century BCE. The date of the foundation of Syracuse, following a Thucydidean chronology, is about 733 BCE. Plutarch, writing in the second century CE, provides a full account of the events leading to Syracuse's foundation. According to Plutarch's *Moralia*, Archias, the founder of Syracuse, was forced to leave Corinth because he killed Actaeon (772e-773b). The story goes that Archias, having fallen in love with Actaeon, decided to steal him from the house of the father Melissus. During this attempt, a brawl broke out which caused the death of Actaeon. Melissus, who was not able to obtain justice for his son's murder, committed suicide after invoking Poseidon's curse on the Corinthians. A plague broke out and Archias, heeding the Delphic oracle, was forced to leave Corinth. This, of course, is a mythological telling and gives more agency to the oracle than was likely. Though the blessing of the Delphic oracle was sought before colonists could set sail, there were likely other factors to Archias' decision to found Syracuse beyond banishment by the oracle. Thus, we may understand Greek colonial expansion in two distinct categories: exiled Greek citizens seeking refuge in the fertile lands, free from the crowding of the homeland, and a desire to expand power and influence of the Greek world to the west.

By the early fifth century BCE, Greek Sicily was organized in independent city-states, under the control of the Deinomenids and Emmenids, two dynastic families that effectively secured control of the whole of eastern Sicily. In 505 BCE, Hippocrates, the eldest of the Deinomenids and the tyrant of Gela, led his armies east, seizing control of the previously independent Camarina, Catane, Leontini, and Zancle (modern Messena) (Thucydides VI.5.3). The height of power came when Hippocrates' successor, Gelon, rose to power in 491 BCE as a tyrant of Gela. When Gelon secured the power of Syracuse in 485 BCE, he left Gela under the control of his brother Hieron (Thucydides VI.5.3). Following Gelon's death in 478 or 477 BCE, Hieron

succeeded as ruler of Syracuse. The tyrannical rule of the Deinomenids in Sicily lasted until roughly 467 BCE, followed by a civil rebellion that led to the foundation of a democratic government that lasted until the Carthaginian siege of the island at the end of the 5th century BCE.

During their rule of the Sicily, the Deinomenids secured their place as "benevolent" tyrants and worked to legitimize their rule, placating a populace in the presence of tyrannical rule. Minting of new coinage in 490 BCE contained an image of Gelas, an important river god associated with the colony. The inverse of the coin points to a new trend of artistic propaganda on the island: a naked rider on a horse. This most likely refers not just to the city's strong soldier base, but specifically to Gelon and his role as a cavalry commander and his success in military campaigns. The image signaled a change in monetary representation, a shift from symbols that related to the local characteristics of a city to symbols connected to a specific individual. Before Gelon's time, anthropomorphized images of gods were shown on Gela's coins, but on the coins of Gelon's rule the image is of a human, albeit the ruler.

Apart from the minting of new currency, Gelon also looked to architecture in order to enhance his position and relate his power to that of the gods. In Syracuse, Gela erected a sanctuary dedicated to the cult of Demeter and Kore. Beyond an implication of Syracuse's fertile soil, this dedication may also be read as Gelon linking his own rule with the cult of a sacred goddess of fertility, further underlined by his own lineage. The historian Herodotus (VII.153.2) writes of Telines, Gelon's ancestor who secured a position for himself—and subsequently his descendants—as a priest of the cult of the earth and fertility goddess, Demeter.[17] This further points to Gelon's awareness of the precarious nature of his power in Syracuse and his need to establish

[17] Donald White, "Demeter's Sicilian Cult as Political Instrument", (*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies,* Vol. 5, No. 4, 1964), 262.

sacred roots in the city in order to further legitimize his rule.[18]

Hieron succeeded his older brother in 478 BCE and also relied heavily on artistic propaganda to legitimize his power. During his rule of Syracuse and Gela, Hieron founded the colony of Aitna along the base of Mt. Etna and turned to art to successfully bolster his claim over this new territory. Much of Hieron's propaganda came in the form of odes and plays. Commissioning and adapting plays by Aeschylus, he sought not only to placate the native Sikels in the foundation of Aitna but also to unite the newfound city against a foreign threat, namely the Persians.[19] The poet Pindar was widely popularity among tyrants across Sicily to help legitimize and celebrate their rule. Pindar's *Olympian Ode* I celebrated not only Hieron's Olympic victories but also the victories of a related family ruling at nearby Akragas, previously argued to be the original patrons of the youth of Motya.[20]

The Emmenids, closely related to the Deinomenids, ruled Akragas between 490 and 472 BCE, ending with the death of both brothers Xenocrates and Theron. As with the Deinomenid brothers, the Emmenids were also avid patrons of the arts; the brothers had a close relationship with Pindar, as evidenced by four odes written during his time in Sicily between 476 and 475 BCE (*Olympian Odes* 1-4)[21] Pindar's *Isthmian* 2 is also dedicated to the brothers for their victory at the Olympic games in 476.[22] Within twenty years following the death of Gelon and the Emmenids in the 470s BCE, the Greek tyrants were overthrown and the Syracuse-Akragas alliance fragmented into 11 feuding commonwealths under oligarchs and democracies. Their bickering and future

[18] White, "Demeter's Sicilian Cult as Political Instrument", 262.
[19] Mara McNiff, "Artistic and Religious Propaganda in the Deinomenid Tyranny" (*The Compass,* Vol. 1, iss. 4 2017), 21.
[20] Malcolm Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2,'" *Memoirs from the American Academy in Rome,* Vol. 40, 1995
[21] Malcolm Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2.'" 16.
[22] Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2'", 17.

expansionist policies led to the Second Sicilian War in the late fifth century BCE.

Historical Background: Carthage

The basic argument for this thesis relies on the nature, role, and results of contact between cultural groups and its changing identity expressed in artistic production. It is necessary to understand, however, that the defined "cultures" that are tangled up in such exchange are not so clear cut as "Greek" and "Phoenician." Particularly in search of "Phoenician" culture, we encounter what is more akin to a mosaic of cultural elements than a cohesive group. The name itself comes from the Greek literary record, for Phoenician histories predating the Roman era are lacking.[23] Early Greek histories make reference to the Phoenicians in order to understand their own origin and movement throughout the Mediterranean basin, beginning as early as the second millennium BCE.

Throughout Greek literature the term "Phoenician" is used to define a barbaric group originating from the merchant ports along the Levantine coast. In general, modern scholarship's understanding of the Phoenician expansion has its roots in the Greek literary record and is subject to the same generalizations as other Near Eastern groups.[24] Some stark contrasts may be observed, however, in our modern understanding of Greek and Phoenician expansion.

It is important to note that Phoenician settlement was not at all related to Greek colonization as a response to overpopulation. It is more likely that the seafaring merchants of the Levantine coast were more interested in establishing trading nexuses rather than expanding cohesive territory. This is perhaps especially true of early Phoenician expansion, where trading posts along the western coastline of Sicily provide a far different picture than their Greek counterparts. According

[23] Martin, *The Art of Contact,* 74.
[24] Martin, 80.

to the Greek literary record, i.e., Thucydides (VI.2.6), the Phoenicians settled "the coast of Sicily on all sides, having taken possession of certain promontories and little islands" until the Greeks' arrival pushed them to retreat to Motya, Soloeis and Panormos.[25] The retreat westward allowed Phoenicians to remain close to the inland border with their Elymian allies at Segesta and Eryx. Thucydides thus provides a geographic delineation of the island, creating a sort of "ethno-topography of the people of Sicily and accounting for the ethnic identities of a handful of non-Greek Sicilian cities."[26]

By the eighth century BCE arrival of Greek colonies in Sicily, the group they encountered was not merchant Phoenicians, but instead the hegemonic Carthaginians, which we should perhaps view as a separate group entirely. The founding of Carthage, by settlers from Tyre as early as 814 BCE, is distinct from Phoenician expansion in the mid-ninth century BCE and beyond. Its foundation by Tyre may have corresponded to the earlier trade expansionist tradition, especially considering its favorable location, commanding passage through the Straits of Tunis, midway through the Levantine coast and the Straits of Gibraltar. However, as its Phoenician name *Qarthadasht* ("New City") belies, the main purpose of this "new city" of Carthage was to provide a new place of settlement for a certain group involved in a territorial conflict in Tyre.[27]

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[25] According to Thucydides there were a number of settlements around Sicily, for trade with the Sikels. No concrete evidence of Phoenician settlements in Greek territories have been found. According to Antonia Ciasca's 1988 article "Fenici" in *Kokalos*, growing archaeological evidence now suggests that there many have been Phoenician enclaves in Greek sites of eastern Sicily in the early Archaic period (77-79). Certainly, it can be understood that Phoenician and Greek spheres overlapped, but to what extent, and how hostile that interaction is so far not understood and the narrative that one can read from Thucydides must be treated with caution.
[26] Emily Modrall, "Indigenous Identities in Punic Western Sicily", University of Pennsylvania, 2011, 28.
[27] Niemeyer, "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean" *Greek Colonisation,* ed. by Gocha Tschesktdatze, Leiden: Brill, 2006, 161.

In this new model of Carthage, unlike the Phoenician trading posts throughout the far western Mediterranean, there was a new stratified population. From the beginning, a political class, including a king as its head, makes Carthage "a case apart in the context of Phoenician expansion;" this "new city" was a true *apoikia.*[28] Given the dearth of ancient written testimony from Carthage, it is difficult to identify the moment Carthaginians gained hegemony over the Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean, but the destruction of Tyre in the early sixth century BCE may have created the vacuum necessary for Carthage to found its empire. Following this period, the Roman distinction *Punic* is the term most accurately used for the earlier Phoenician settlements in the western Mediterranean.

Case Studies: Sculpture and Architecture

The most recent attempts to study the engagement between ancient populations of Sicily—notably either between Phoenicians and indigenous peoples or Greeks and indigenous peoples—are built from the available literary record, using archaeological evidence as confirmation. Yet, it is in the sculpture and architecture itself that we see the most revealing examples of influence. Indeed, archaeological discourse has been "concerned with the meaning of diversity within categories of material culture in their formal and decorative characteristics—their style—and the reciprocal relationship between material culture and society" for some time.[29] Carla Antonaccio, in her studies of Greek diaspora and acculturation, provides a subtle roadmap that has been drawn by this tradition: the search for symbols. As Antonaccio notes: "To engage in cultural practice means to utilize existing cultural symbols to accomplish some end."[30]

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[28] Niemeyer, "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean", 161.
[29] Carla Antonaccio, "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture." (*The Cultures within Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration,* ed. by C Dougherty and L Kurke, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 57.
[30] Antonaccio, "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture", 58.

The Motya Youth, a sculpture of Parian marble, found reused in the fortification wall of the Sanctuary of Cappidazzu in Carthaginian Motya, has puzzled scholars since its excavation in 1979 (Fig. 2). Hypotheses regarding the identity of the sculpture range from a reigning tyrant, a charioteer, or a dancer in a festival to Apollo.[31] This study will attempt to provide a theory regarding the statue's identity, though the question of style is much more compelling for the purposes of this thesis. Chapter II will look closely at the Phoenician settlements at Motya, as well as trends in the identification of the statue through modern scholarship. One of the finest examples of early Classical, Severe style sculpture found outside the Greek mainland, the Motya Youth's apparent Greek craftsmanship and eastern motifs provide one of the best-known examples of Greek interaction and influence in Punic Sicily.

Moving from Phoenician to Greek territory, two stelai from the Sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios from the Greek settlement of Selinous offer a curious look at the transmutability of cult (Figs. 3 and 4). These sculptures are currently housed in the Getty Villa in Malibu and have not been subject to the same level of scrutiny or study by modern scholars as the Motya Youth. A detailed study of *tophet* sanctuaries, Greek herms and aniconic stelai, and Greek and Phoenician interaction at Selinous may provide a deeper understanding of the construction and use of the stelai from Selinous. The *stelai* from the so-called *Campo di stele* are indicative of the strong influence the Phoenicians brought to Greek settlements in Sicily. Their dating, along with the life-use of the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios, marks a critical moment in intercultural contact at Selinous.

[31] Malcolm Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2.'" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1995 discusses the standard charioteer identification of the statue. See John Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West." *The Art Bulletin,* 2014 for the identification of the Youth as a cross-dressing Karneios dancer.

While Greek and Phoenician interaction can clearly be seen in their own settlements, moving outside the territory of either foreign group offers insights into how we may view their intercultural influence from an outside perspective. Segesta, the legendary settlement of the Elymians seeking refuge following the fall of Troy, is one such site. In the mid-fifth century, a Doric temple was erected by the indigenous population of Segesta (Fig. 5), who had for centuries enjoyed a beneficial alliance with the Phoenicians west of their territory. Segesta's longevity is surely attributed to its own political astuteness, but it is possible that by studying this long-presumed example of the "Hellenization" of indigenous Sicily we might help us reach a further understanding of the productive nature of conflict. By studying the socio-political context for the temple's erection and the building project in comparison to Greek temples on the island, I hope to shine more light on the interrelational mosaic afforded by the First Punic Wars.

II: The Motya Youth: A Greek Sculpture in a Phoenician Sanctuary

During an excavation in 1979, under the direction of the University of Palermo and Gioacchino Falsone, a sculpture of Parian marble was uncovered from a sanctuary in the Punic city of Motya (modern Mozia) in Sicily. This figure was quickly believed to be a charioteer based on his long garment and victorious stance and arm position (Fig. 2).[32] Recently, this identification has been contested, with scholars pointing to missing elements of the sculpture as the clues necessary to reach the truth. With identifications ranging from a festival dancer to a military seer,[33] it seems the truth behind the youth's identity lies in missing elements of the statue that may point to a broader narrative among Greek- and Carthaginian-occupied Sicily.

Context and Characteristics

The Motya Youth was uncovered during the morning of October 26, 1979, two years into an excavation on the island by the University of Palermo and the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Sicilia Occidentale.[34] Given its findspot at the excavation site and the associated archaeological evidence, archaeologists have concluded that the sculpture was reused in fortification walls, built sometime around the siege of Motya by Dionysios I of Syracuse in 397 BCE.[35] The sculpture measures 181 centimeters in height without its feet which were not found.

The life-sized youth is carved in detail on all sides and his head is turned in a three-quarter

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[32] Malcolm Bell "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2.'" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1995, 6.
[33] Olga Palagia, "The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View." *Sport and Competition in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 14-15 June 2012, British Museum, Conference Presentation, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f195T5lZhWE
[34] Gioacchino Falsone,"La scoperta, lo scavo e il contesto archeologico," *La Statua Marmorea Di Mozia,* "L'Erma" Di Bretschneider, 1986, 9.
[35] John Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West." *The Art Bulletin,* 2014, 395.

view, both clearly indicating the sculptor's intention for the piece to be viewed in the round and not obstructed by any sort of support, such as a chariot. In the front of the cranium are two holes measuring 0.4 cm in diameter and 2.4 cm deep; and at the back of head are two bronze pins measuring 2 cm long and 0.3 cm thick (Fig. 8). The placement of pins and holes at such uniform intervals suggests that they supported a head ornament that required balanced anchors. The hole at the apex of cranium measures 1.3 cm in diameter and 7.2 cm deep (Fig. 9). While this hole was used in the past as a support for the exhibition of the sculpture, it is likely that was not the original use, especially considering the smaller holes along the sides of the head. It is important to note that this hole was also not enlarged during the exhibition, as evidenced by the fact that Falsone's excavation notes indicated a hole of the same diameter and depth as it appears today.[36] Given the noted Severe Style of the head with its "snail shell" curls (Fig. 6) and the contrapposto stance (Fig. 2), the sculpture has been confidently dated to 480-470 BCE, though some scholars extend the date to around 450 BCE.[37] Statues have been found with similar facial definition, namely, a broad jaw and a straight mouth, on the Greek mainland. The Aristodikos Kouros (Fig. 7), found on the Athenian Acropolis, has been cited as comparative evidence to solidify a date and underline the carving as that of a virtuoso Greek artist.[38]

Malcolm Bell, in *The Motya Charioteer,* asserts that "the mobile surface of the cheeks and mouth, and the small chin, suggest that the artist thought of the subject as an individual."[39] Given

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[36] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 402.
[37] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 395.
[38] Olga Palagia"The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View." *Sport and Competition in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 14-15 June 2012, British Museum, Conference Presentation, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f195T5lZhWE
[39] Malcolm Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2.'" *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1995, 6.

this analysis, it is likely the youth was carved to celebrate a powerful individual in Sicily during the time of carving. Important events surrounding the proposed dating of the sculpture point to Phoenician and Greek individuals as possible subjects.

The youth's garment appears to be an ankle-length chiton or a *xystis*, a thinner garment than that seen on the similarly dated Delphi Charioteer (Fig. 10). This lighter garment is cited as an argument that the youth may not represent a charioteer, for such a light fabric would be apt to billow in the wind and impede speed during a chariot race. An intriguing element of the youth's costume is the belt; a broadband belt is wrapped twice around the upper torso and is fastened high in the front (Fig. 11). In a conference discussion at the British Museum in 2014, Olga Palagia identifies the style of this belt as Orientalizing, though it is missing its clasp as evidenced by two holes in the front of the belt (Fig. 11), making it difficult to confirm this assessment. The significance of this Orientalizing element will be discussed in detail below.

The Sicilian Wars: Sacking Greek Cities

The discovery of the youth on the island of Motya is unexpected. There is little free-standing sculpture of this period on the island, and it represents the only large-scale example of apparent Greek craftsmanship found to date.[40] Its burial in fortification walls, believed to be erected in the 4th century BCE, firmly places the statue on the island during the occupation of the Punic settlement. Most scholars tend to believe the presence of the statue of the youth in Motya was temporary; it is believed the statue was brought to the island as spoils of war following the sacks of the cities of Himera, Selinous, Akragas (Agrigento), or Gela between 409 and 405 BCE.

[40] Lorenzo Nigro, "From Tyre to Motya: The Temples and the Rise of a Phoenician Colony." In *Bulletin D'Archéologie Et D'Architecture Libanaises,* 375-384. Hors-Série VIII, 2012. Nigro discusses one other sculpture found near the lagoon in Motya of obvious eastern craftsmanship. The architecture at the sanctuary and the southern Temple of Kothon also point to an exclusive Phoenician style.

This theory, however, has yet to be confirmed. The feet of the statue would have most likely been carved in one piece with its plinth that would, in turn, have been set into a base, perhaps bearing an inscription identifying the individual or his dedicant. Neither the plinth nor the base of the statue have been found in Motya or at any other sites on the island of Sicily.

A thorough understanding of the political makeup of ancient Sicily is necessary in order to fully dissect arguments regarding the identity of the statue. The statue has been confidently dated to the early 5th century BCE. During this period, Greek Sicily was ruled by independent city-states under the control of a family which had established a tyrannical rule from circa 491 to 466 BCE (Table 1). The height of power came under Gelon, who rose to power in 491 BCE as the tyrant of Gela. When Gelon secured the power of Syracuse in 485 BCE, he left Gela under the control of his brother Hieron. Following Gelon's death in 478 or 477 BCE, Hieron succeeded as ruler of Syracuse as well. The tyrannical rule of the Deinomenids—as the dynasty was called, after Gelon's father Deinomenes—lasted in Sicily until roughly 467 BCE, following a civil rebellion that led to the foundation of a democratic government that lasted until the Carthaginian siege of the island at the end of the 5th century BCE.

Malcolm Bell identifies the youth of Motya, not only as a charioteer but as Nikomachos, the charioteer for Xenocrates referenced in Pindar's *Isthmian* 2. Again, this identification, while providing a rich backstory of the history of artistic propaganda on the island, would only make sense if the light chiton worn by the youth can convincingly be identified as the costume of a charioteer. Bell points to coins from Syracuse of the late 5th century that seem to portray charioteers wearing not only diaphanous drapery but also the high broad belt similar to that on the Motya Youth (Fig. 12). While this may point to some precedent for the youth's garment, the further issue of the holes and bronze pins on the Motya Youth's head raise questions. If this statue

is meant to represent a charioteer, Bell postulates he is most likely in the act of raising or adjusting a laurel crown on his head.[41] While a victory wreath would account for the bronze pins, it would not account for the central larger hole that Bell reserves for a *meniskos*, generally identified as a pointed ornament to deter and protect from bird droppings.[42]

As the Deinomenids and the Emmenids (the ruling tyrants of Akragas) asserted their legitimacy to rule through strategic artistic commissions, strategic military victories also appeased their growing populous. The earliest known battle between the Greeks in Sicily and the Punics came in 580 BCE with the foundation of Akragas.[43] The sixth-century battle ignited a series of conflicts that would last years until Carthage eventually succeeded in the sack of major cities in the late 5th century BCE. This historical animosity has caused the statue of the youth to be interpreted as possible spoils of war that may have been taken from one of the sites and brought to Motya, where it remained in some secondary context until its discovery in the 20th century.

Perhaps the most important battle in this conflict was the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE. During this battle, the allied forces of the Deinomenids and Emmenids succeeded in killing the Magonid king of Carthage, Hamilkar I. His death was later avenged by his grandson Hannibal who led the attacks in Greek Sicily between 409 and 405 BCE (Table 1). Based on the find spot, as well as the Orientalizing belt, tentative arguments have been made that would suggest the youth was an idealized funerary marker for Hamilkar.[44] Because of the statue's apparent Greek

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[41] Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2'", 9.
[42] Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2'", 6. For a detailed study of the use of *meniskoi*, see Brunhilde Ridgway, "Birds, 'Meniskoi', and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece." *AJA* 1990.
[43] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 417.
[44] Anna Maria Bisi, "La Statua di Mozia" in *La Statua Marmorea Di Mozia,* "L'Erma" Di Bretschneider, 1986, 69-78.

craftsmanship, this identification has been met with little agreement, for a Greek sculptor working for a Carthaginian patron in the erection of a heroic funerary statue, especially of a major Greek enemy, is not credible.

Possible Identities: All in the Head

As John Papadopoulos points out in his analysis of the Motya Youth, past identifications of the statue have all failed to accurately account for the large hole and bronze pins in the statues head.[45] As mentioned above, Malcolm Bell suggests the central hole at the apex of the head is for a *meniskos*.[46] This tradition of *meniskoi* is discussed by Brunilde Ridgway in her 1990 article in which she argues that "whatever the covering object was, it was certainly more substantial than a central *meniskos* and may have been a cap of some kind."[47]

For Papadopoulos, this elaborate "cap" is reconstructed as a *kalathiskos*, a head ornament that Gloria Ferrari identifies as a "crown of rays," not to be confused with a basket or *kalathos*.[48] It is believed that youthful *kalathiskos* dancers are play-acting as stars, with *kalathiskoi* representing the rays of light.[49] This elaborate head covering was worn by dancers in the Spartan *Karneia* festival, with the "rays of light" dancing in honor of the god Apollo. As Papadopoulos explains, "Karneios was the name of one of the months of the Dorian calendar (often equated with the Attic month of Metageitnion), and the Karneia festival ran for nine days in the second quarter

[45] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 402-404
[46] Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2'", 6
[47] Brunilde Ridgway, "Birds, 'Meniskoi', and Head Attributes in Archaic Greece." *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1990, 594
[48] Ferrari, *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008, 135-150.
[49] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 404

of our month of August."[50]

Papadopoulos points to scenes representing the Karneia or its dancers on artifacts from Greece and Magna Grecia. He reconstructs the Motya youth's elaborate headdress as those seen on red-figure vases, most clearly linking the youth with dancers on the name vase of the Lucanian Karneia Painter (Fig. 13). Papadopoulos provides a reconstruction of the youth with the Apollo Karneios headpiece, relating the draped marble statue to nude dancers in the festival (Fig. 14). He posits that the arm is positioned to provide extra support for a large structure on the head.

While the evidence points to the Karneia festival as a widespread event throughout ancient Greece, there has been no documented evidence of this event in Sicily. Furthermore, apart from relief *kalathiskos* dancers flanking the entry to the Heröon of Trysa (Turkey) from the early 4th century BCE (Fig. 15), there does not appear to be any other large-scale depiction of these dancers. It is curious that the only monumental statue representing a festival that originated in Sparta would be found in Sicily. If Bell's analysis of the Motya Youth as a specific individual is accepted, it is difficult to imagine what prominent Greek figure in Sicily during the 5th century would have commissioned a statue of himself as a *kalathiskos* dancer.

Under Gelon, artistic propaganda in Sicily was either intended to honor his military prowess or associate him with sacred cults on the island that were connected to the wealth and commerce of the island. His younger brother Hieron, whether in odes and plays or sacred dedications, also sought to legitimize his reign by underlining his military victories and a connection to the rich agriculture afforded by the island's natural resources. A dedicatory statue meant to honor Apollo in a Spartan festival is incongruous with the pattern of militaristic

[50] Papadopoulos, "The Motya Youth: Apollo Karneios, Art, and Tyranny in the Greek West", 412.

celebration for both brothers and their adherence to a strictly Sicilian cult tradition. For this reason, as much as the Motya Youth may have represented a prominent figure on the island, it is unlikely that one of the Deinomenid brothers would be portrayed as a dancer for a Spartan summer festival.

In her presentation for a British Museum lecture on the Motya Youth, Olga Palagia provides many examples of other possible headpieces for the statue.[51] If the statue were indeed a charioteer, the headpiece could have been a victory wreath. Based on the trajectory of the right arm, the statue's stance would suggest he was resting after the race and in the process of placing the wreath on his head. Palagia espouses the theory that the Motya Youth was wearing a helmet, given the unfinished look of the hair above the snail-shell curls. While a resting athlete adjusting a wreath on his head would be congruous with the stance of the statue and trajectory of his arm, as previously stated, it would not account for the central hole and the unfinished hair that would have been visible under the wreath. It is unlikely a sculptor of such skill would have paid so little attention to the hairstyle if it was not meant to be completely covered by some headgear.

A Corinthian helmet restored on the Aristodikos Kouros (Fig. 16) could provide some insight into how a helmet would be placed in order for the curls to be seen underneath. If the Motya Youth was, in fact, wearing a helmet, Palagia postulates that he would have been a seer in a sculptural group dedicated by Gelon to commemorate his victory over the Carthaginians at the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE. Dedications for military victories were a common practice in this period in Sicily and would not have been unique to the Motya Youth. Hieron of Syracuse also dedicated helmets following his victory in the Battle of Cumae against the Etruscans in 474 BCE, when he and his troops rushed to the aid of Aristodemus. One helmet (Fig. 17) found in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, bears the dedicatory inscription, "Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and

[51] Olga Palagia, "The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View."

the Syracusans, [dedicated] to Zeus Etruscan [spoils] from Cumae."[52]

For a comparison to the Motya Youth's stance, Palagia points to the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Fig. 18). Looking at Oinomaos, we see his right hand placed on his hip and his left arm also outstretched as if holding a spear. In the case of the Motya Youth, Palagia argues that the statue's raised arm, severed just below the shoulder, would have been raised in a gesture similar to Oinomaos's, but in this case holding a dagger meant to signal his identity as a priest or seer.

Palagia's hypothesis regarding the identity of the statue of the youth from Motya is coupled with her convincing interpretation of the *xystis* as a priestly garment. She points to the use of seers in military contexts as a reason for this figure holding a spear or scepter and the presence of a helmet. Palagia points to Greek relief sculpture for examples of representations of priests wearing long chitons and holding a knife or dagger as precedents for the Motya Youth (Fig. 19). Pointing to the Greek myth of Tiresias, Palagia points to another interesting tradition in Greek military strategy. Tiresias, the ancient seer of Apollo, was transformed by Hera into a woman for seven years before turning him back into a man. While this transformation caused Tiresias to go blind, it was believed that it enhanced his ability for prophecy. Centuries later Aristandros, the seer for Alexander the Great, addressed the military prior to battle dressed as a woman, perhaps as a nod to this myth.[53] Given the delicate nature of the pose and diaphanous drapery, most notably seen in

[52] The bronze Etruscan helmet is of the *Negau* type with an inscribed text in the Syracusan Greek alphabet; domed body made of hammered sheet bronze, lower part concave, with a small lip around the bottom edge. The object is believed to have been captured at the battle of Cumae in 474 BC and deposited in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia as a dedication to the god. (Information from the British Museum online collection) https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399519&partId=1

[53] Palagia, "The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View."

female sculpture, Palagia's argument for the Motya Youth as a gender-fluid seer seems convincing.

Palagia further proposes the site from which the sculpture could have been taken. In an analysis of those sites sacked by the Carthaginians between 409 and 405 BCE, Palagia points out that most of the loot was taken back to Carthage and not to the island of Motya.[54] Only war spoils from Himera and Selinous from 409 BCE have been found on Motya. This further emphasizes the probability of the Motya Youth as a dedicatory offering by Gelon celebrating a victory after the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE. If the statue was taken from a Greek-Sicilian site during the siege of the island in the late 5th century, Himera seems to be the most likely city.

If the Motya Youth were, in fact, a seer in a military sculptural group, it begs the question: why would the Carthaginians choose to take as their spoils a seer and not their main rival Gelon? Malcolm Bell points out in an initial analysis of the youth that "the face and genitals were damaged intentionally," pointing specifically to the eyebrows, eyes, nose mouth, chin, and right cheek (Fig. 20).[55] Since the Motya Youth would have been hidden from view from the early 4th century BCE until its excavation in 1979, the possibility of Christian iconoclasm may be ruled out. This damage had to have been done sometime between its carving in the early 5th century and its burial in the defensive walls of the sanctuary in the early 4th century BCE.

Given the theory that the statue was retrieved as war spoils and taken back to Motya, intentional damage to the statue would make more sense for the Carthaginians' major enemy Gelon, and not a secondary figure like a seer. While seers were highly respected figures in ancient Greece, their importance did not supersede that of the ruling tyrant. Had the Carthaginians wanted to dismantle a sculptural group and seize an enemy figure, surely it would have been the

[54] Palagia, "The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View."
[55] Bell, "The Motya Charioteer and Pindar's 'Isthmian 2'", 4.

commander leading the Battle of Himera and the one responsible for the death of their leader Hamilcar. Thus, Olga Palagia's identification of the Motya Youth as a seer in a larger sculptural group begs the question: Where is Gelon? Excavations at Selinous, Akragas, Himera have not yielded evidence of any large sculptural groups from the Deinomenid tyranny.

Missing Clues

Despite the many compelling theories surrounding the Motya Youth as a prominent Greek individual, taken to Motya as spoils of war, one crucial analysis is missing. Bell, Papadopoulos, and Palagia all omit a thorough analysis of the statue's belt. Palagia mentions the belt as perhaps Orientalizing, due to its lack of comparisons in Greek art, but quickly dismisses any identification of the statue as anything other than a Greek subject for reasons other than its enigmatic belt. If the belt is, in fact, Orientalizing, the long chiton most closely resembles a Phoenician priestly garment. This is quickly discounted by Palagia who points to portrayals of priests as having long sleeves and a raised left hand in prayer gesture. However, in her own comparison of the Motya Youth as a Greek seer, pointing to comparisons in relief sculpture, she omits that these "priestly garments" are also shown with full-length sleeves.

While the short sleeve garment and stance may rule out a Carthaginian priestly figure, it cannot rule out the possibility of a Carthaginian subject or patron. Looking closely again at the garment, especially with the addition of the belt, a *comparandum* of which is not found in Classical Greek art, perhaps a simple theory would make the most sense in this case. Vincenzo Tusa, in *The Youth of Motya*, sees the garment of the statue as strictly Phoenician and argues that "a similar costume was inconceivable in Greek sculpture.[56] This would certainly explain scholars' questioning of the garment as a costume for a charioteer for its light, billowy quality. Further, the

[56] Vincenzo Tusa, "The Youth of Motya" in *The Phoenicians* (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2001), 621

belt is seen on Assyrian relief sculpture, which underlines the eastern "Orientalizing" characteristics, and points to the youth's garment as more Phoenician that previously realized (Fig. 21).

In light of the Orientalizing aspects of the belt, the eastern influence of the garment also becomes apparent. Carthaginian costume in Italy remained traditional, so as to be easily recognizable, though modern scholars see similarities with this dress and the costume of charioteers. As Vincenzo Tusa states, "like the peoples of Phoenicia, they [the Carthaginians] wore a wide tunic which was ordinarily ankle length."[57] The significant descriptor here is *wide*; the garment of the Motya Youth is a distinctively wide garment, as evidenced by the many gathered folds between the legs and the fact that it needed a belt to hold the garment in place (Fig. 22). This costume could have been that of an elite Carthaginian citizen, as opposed to a specialized costume of a dancer, seer, or chariot.

The Greek artistry cannot be disguised in the carving of the Motya Youth, which points to an intriguing development if it was commissioned by the Greek's supposed enemies. Tusa theorizes that the statue could have been the commission of a wealthy Motyan citizen for a Greek artist.[58] The presence of Classical Greek art on the island of Motya in not an anomaly reserved to the Motya Youth. Excavations led in the mid-1960s by the Leeds-London Universities uncovered Greek pottery among cremation burials.[59] The presence of Greek pottery in cremation burials speaks to an appreciation and consumption of Greek art by individuals, and that Greek art also arrived on the island of Motya as trade goods and not just as spoils of war. So, there is no reason

[57] Tusa, "The Youth of Motya", 621
[58] Tusa, "The Youth of Motya", 621
[59] Joan du Plat Taylor, "Motya: a Phoenician Trading Settlement in Sicily" (*Archaeology* 1964), 100.

to believe an independent Greek sculptor would have had any scruples working on a commission from an anonymous wealthy individual on the island. Here, the issue of provenance may also point to compelling theories regarding the sculpture. Though it was uncovered in a makeshift fortification wall from the sack of Motya by Dionysios I in 397 BCE, the overall site of those walls was the Sanctuary of Cappidazzu.[60]

A Case for Contact

Modern theories are quick to discount the possibility of a Greek artist working with a Carthaginian patron, but there is no proof against collaboration. Where there is little evidence of monumental marble sculpture as votive offerings and no other sculpture of this type in Motya, this may speak to the restricted nature of the broader communication between the Greeks and Carthaginians. Erecting monumental votive offerings was a widespread phenomenon in sanctuaries and cities across the Hellenic world in the Archaic and Classical periods and beyond. As with Greek pottery used as grave goods, Carthaginians may have been influenced by ancient Greece in various practices such as the dedication of monumental sculpture, and not simply aesthetics. Carthaginian-occupied western Sicily would have provided Greek Sicily with ample customers for works and trade goods on the island. Thus, crossover between the cultures can be imagined, at least on some level. It is conceivable that an independent artist, less concerned with military disputes than patronage, would have worked on commission for a wealthy Motyan citizen to sculpt a votive offering for a sanctuary.

Given that the carving of the statue and the marble are definitively Greek, the sculptor would have been aware of the votive traditions on the Greek mainland and could have influenced the patron of the sculptor in his choice of subject and mode of representation. The conclusion that

[60] Palagia, "The Motya Charioteer - An Alternative View"

the statue was erected and housed in Motya for the duration of its life-use would also corroborate that this statue was a Carthaginian votive offering, commissioned for the Sanctuary of Cappidazzu.[61] Palagia shows in her study of the transportation of Carthaginian war booty following the siege of Sicily in the late 5th century BCE, the Greek statue would probably have had to have come from either Selinous or Himera.

Since no important dedicatory statues have been found relating to the Deinomenids and Emmenids in Selinous, this origin is further narrowed to Himera. If the statue had been taken from Himera, it most likely would have been as dedicatory victory statue to commemorate Gelon's victory at the Battle of Himera. With the long chiton representing a "priestly" garment for Palagia, the statue would have been a seer in a sculptural group, though no other members of the sculptural group have been uncovered, and it would make little sense for the Carthaginians to have transported the military seer and discarded the more significant enemy, Gelon. Thus, the possibility that the statue originated in Greek-Sicily is very slim. With the added insight into Carthaginian dress, a statue possibly carved in, and definitely housed in Carthaginian Motya, presents itself as a conclusion that requires little forcing or convincing.

Scholarship has endeavored to invent a rich backstory for this Motya Youth as an ancient dancer or seer, plundered by the Carthaginians and taken as war booty back to Motya where it was used in the fortification wall of a sanctuary, but the simplest explanation may, in fact, be the correct one. This sculpture was the work of a Greek sculptor in Motya, under the patronage of a wealthy Motyan citizen, and used as a votive offering that was inspired by the Greek tradition. Not only

[61] The Sanctuary of Cappidazzu deity has not yet been identified, though some scholars would believe it was a site of worship for the Phoenician god Melqart, strengthened by more male statues found not far from the findspot of the Motya Youth. See Nigro, "From Tyre to Motya: The Temples and the Rise of a Phoenician Colony.", 5.

would this explanation account for the eastern influences of the dress, but its context in a sanctuary as well. It also presents a hopeful narrative, of individuals among enemy cultures, collaborating in artistry and tradition as a symbol of meeting between the Phoenicians and Greeks in ancient Sicily, propelled by the close contact provided by moments of conflict.

III: Selinous: A *Tophet* to Zeus Meilichios?

The sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios, located in Selinous on the Gaggera Hill northwest of the larger sanctuary to Demeter Malophorus, is central to an understanding of Greco-Punic interaction during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The sanctuary itself is identified through scant inscriptions in the so-called *campo di stele* (field of *stelai*), a name given by Ettore Gabrici in 1927 following his discovery of the field. As the name would suggest, the sanctuary floor was marked with multiple stone *stelai* in no clear arrangement or pattern (Fig. 23), drawing a comparison to the *tophet* sanctuaries in the Punic world, like that of the Salammbô at Carthage (Fig. 24).

Beyond the sanctuary, Selinous represents a Sicilian site bearing influence from Greeks and Punics from its foundation in the latter half of the seventh century BCE.[62] Its location so close to the Punic-occupied western coastline of Sicily allowed for continued interaction between the Greek inhabitants and the Punics of western Sicily, particularly during the wars leading up to the Punic victory over the city-state in 409 BCE. The stelai, in particular, offer a visual example of this interaction and prove that these hostile groups may not have been so removed from each other than previously considered.

Two stelai of hermaic form (Figs. 3 and 4), currently housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, offer a stylistic representation of the very syncretism that may have taken place in the urban and ritual landscape of Selinous. The larger stele (81.AA.135) measures 21.5 cm in height,

[62] The city was founded either in 651 BCE., according to Diodorus Siculus (13.59, 64), or in 628, exactly a hundred years after the foundation of its mother city, Megara Hyblaea, according to Thucydides (6.4.2). Historically, either date is possible, and the choice has varied depending on the dating of the earliest Greek pottery found there and its interpretation as belonging to new settlers or to indigenous people. See Michael Jameson, David Jordan, and Roy Kotansky. *A Lex Sacra from Selinous.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1993: 121.

20.8 cm in length and 8.5 cm in depth. The smaller (74.AA.44) measures 21.8 by 15.3 by 7 cm.[63] On each stele, two heads side-by-side crown a roughly rendered rectangular block of regional limestone. The head on the left in both sculptures is that of a bearded male, on the right a female, in an archaizing Greek style. The hair on both figures is parted in the middle, more stylistically rendered in 81.AA.135. Both heads are frontal, and both figures seem to wear a sort of polos crown, more notable in 81.AA.135. The large almond eyes and the round full lips of the male and female heads look slightly more Orientalizing than Classical Greek of the fifth century, like the Motya Youth. The more detailed stele (81.AA.135) also has two square bosses protruding from the sides about two-thirds up the rectangular block, typical features on many herms and interpreted as stylized arms. The stelai discussed here are just two of six in the Getty collection, but these two are the only ones with a distinctly Greek style.[64] Their presence at the sanctuary may have been as votive offerings or as cult images, but the distinctly Hellenic characteristic of the two stelai would suggest a strong Greek presence and influence following their defeat at the hands of Carthage in 409 BCE.

Selinous: Greek and Phoenician Occupation

Selinous was founded by Sicilian Greeks from Megara Hyblaea in the mid to late seventh century BCE. Diodorus Siculus provides the date of 651 BCE, but Thucydides claims its foundation was exactly one hundred years after the foundation of its mother-city in 621 BCE.

[63] There has been some question regarding the provenance of the *stelai*, donated to the Getty Museum between 1974 and 1981 by the prolific collector Max Gerchik (information from accessions file in J. Paul Getty Museum). Based on the connection between such stylistically Greek stelai, as described by Gabrici and Tusa, and the artifacts in the Getty collection such as the *lex sacra*—also donated by Gerchik—whose authenticity has been proven, we may reasonably conclude that these stelai originated in the *campo di stele* of the Meilichios precinct at Selinous.

[64] See objects 78.AA.398, 74.AA.44, 81.AA.136, 81.AA.137, 81.AA.138 for all stelai found at Selinous.

Based on the archaeological evidence either date is possible, as it is hard to distinguish the earliest pottery as belonging to settlers or the result of trade with indigenous groups.[65] Thucydides (VI.6.2) gives the name of the *oikist* as Pammilos, having come from Megara in mainland Greece, the mother-city of Megara Hyblaea. The participation of an *oikist* from the Greek mainland shows the importance of Selinous' foundation as a joint venture which kept strong ties to the Greek mainland.

The rapid growth of urban and sanctuary development from Megara Hyblaea showed a steep increase of the population sometime around the early seventh century BCE, which may have been the driving factors for Megara Hyblaea to seek new territory. It has also been suggested that the strong power of Syracuse to the south and Leontini to the north constricted expansion for Megara Hyblaea, leading them to find undisputed territory in the far western reaches of Greek Sicily.[66] The strategic choice for the Megara Hyblaeans was to move their influence to the furthest outreach of Greek territory. The location of Selinous was chosen for its strategic position encroaching on the Phoenician territory in western Sicily, though sparsely populated by indigenous peoples which would allow for less resistance.[67] Selinous was situated on two hills, the acropolis and the Manuzza Hill, connected by a narrow isthmus and bordered by rivers. The wealth of the foundation is reflected in the building policy of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE when Selinous made a systematic effort to monumentalize its sanctuaries with the construction of a series of large

[65] Kenneth Dover, in Arnold Gomme, Antony Andrewes, and Kenneth Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides IV*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, 207-210.
[66] Urquhart, "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society in the Archaic Western Mediterranean: c. 700-450 BCE," 218.
[67] Emily Modrall, "Indigenous Identities in Punic Western Sicily." *Doctoral Dissertation*, University of Pennsylvania, 2011. 10. Modrall offers an extensive bibliography regarding discussions of aspects of colonization and ethnicity in colonial contexts in Greek Sicily and Italy, with a variety of theoretical perspectives.

stone temples, which served as powerful symbols of the colony's wealth, power, and public devotion.[68]

Religious activity arrived with the foundation of the site. Along the Gaggera Hill, the earliest activity attested to Demeter Malophorus was in the form of Early Corinthian pottery (640-625 BCE).[69] No structures were built in this period, but open-air religious activity is attested in burnt ash layers and fragments of tableware. Demarcation of the open-air cult activity can be seen at the Malophorus sanctuary starting in 600 BCE. In the early sixth century, the Malophorus sanctuary received its first stone building, the so-called *megaron* on top of a fill or foundation layer full of fragmentary statuettes and Early and Middle Corinthian pottery.[70]

Just as in the Greek mainland, the mid-fifth century BCE saw a stark growth in the number of sites and monumental buildings in Greek Sicilian sanctuaries. At Selinous, urban development expanded at the Malophorus sanctuary and the precinct of Zeus Meilichios. Because of their proximity to communities of non-Greeks, the colonists of the Greek *polis* may have felt the need to build monumental temples more frequently and on a larger scale than the Greeks at home.[71]

Selinous' position as the westernmost city in Greek Sicily led to complex relationships between the Punic and indigenous populations in the region. In 480 BCE, during the first major battle between Greeks and Punics at Himera where Greeks from Syracuse and Agrigento fought

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[68] Clemente Marconi, "Selinus: History and Urban Development of an Archaic Greek Colony, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus.* Cambridge University Press, 2007, 61-76.
[69] Urquhart, "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society in the Archaic Western Mediterranean: c. 700-450 BCE", 131.
[70] Urquhart, 131.
[71] Most of the Greek temples found in Sicily are localized to the western half of the island. The *Valle dei Templi* at Akragas, the large temples complex at Selinous, and the Doric temple of Segesta all represent a symbol of Greek power in western Sicily. See Marconi, "Monumental Architecture and Colonization in Archaic Sicily," in *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus,* 29.

against the Carthaginians, Selinous was the only Greek *polis* allied with Carthage. In 415 BCE hostilities between Selinous and the indigenous site of Segesta brought Athenian intervention.[72] By 409 BCE, on the occasion of the Carthaginian invasion which lay waste to Greek sites across Greek Sicily, Selinous was taken and sacked by Hannibal, their alliance seventy years earlier long forgotten. Punic hegemony over Selinous was briefly interrupted in 408 by Hermokrates, Dionysios I in 405, 383, and 368 BCE, through treaties between Dionysios I and Carthage drew the boundary of the city under Carthaginian rule at the river Halikos (Diodorus Siculus, XIII.20).

A few years after the siege of Selinous, with the consent of Carthage, refugees refounded the city. Between the early fourth and the first half of the third century BCE, the city remained mostly under Carthaginian control, and was inhabited by a mixed Greek and Punic population.[73] Characteristic of this period were the massive fortifications surrounding the acropolis, which point to the significant strategic role assumed by Selinous during the wars between Syracuse and Carthage.[74] Building projects have also been attributed to the period of Punic occupation in the Malophorus and Meilichios precincts. Finally, in 250 BCE, during initial struggles between Carthage and Rome, Selinous was abandoned, its walls dismantled, and its inhabitants transferred to Lilybaion. In the first century BCE, Strabo (VI.2.6) described the site of Selinous as deserted.

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[72] The historical account of this is attested to in Thucydides (VI.6.2). This has often been interpreted as an Athenian pretext for invading Sicily, though the archaeological record does not confirm any Athenian presence in western Sicily. This hostility and its material remnants will be explored more deeply in chapter 3.

[73] Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 122. The population of Selinous in the last century and a half of the town's existence (400-250 BCE) was presumably Greek and Punic in varying proportions and degrees of mixture. In 397 BCE it seemed to still have been sufficiently Greek to declare for Dionysios I when it had a chance, as described by Diodorus Siculus (XIV.47).

[74] Stefania De Vido, "Selinunte: Gli Ultimi Anni." in *Temi Selinuntini.* Claudia Antonetti and Stefania De Vido (eds.) Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009: 111.

Campo di Stele: Excavation

Ettore Gabrici (1868-1962) credited with the initial excavation of the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary and the *campo di stele,* began his archaeological endeavors in Naples. Upon arriving in Palermo around 1882, Gabrici found himself on many excavation sites throughout Sicily, including in Himera, Motya, and Palermo.[75] Gabrici's early excavation was under the tutelage of Antonio Salinas, his predecessor as director of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palermo. Excavations on the Gaggera Hill began in 1874 by Francesco Saverio Cavallari and were taken over by Gabrici between 1915 and 1926.[76]

The earliest Greek material from the Sanctuary of Malophorus, mainly pottery and terracotta figurines, dates to the late seventh century, which puts the foundation of the sanctuary shortly after the foundation of the city itself. The northernmost street along the grid system on the acropolis continued straight to the entrance of the sanctuary, attesting to its importance from the earliest history of Selinous. Originally, there were only two sacred precincts found, those of the Malophorus and the smaller sanctuary to Zeus Meilichios. Excavations since 1950 have led to the identification of at least five precincts altogether.[77] The main sanctuary was bisected by a raised water channel that would have brought fresh spring water in front of the chief building of the sanctuary, a tripartite rectangular structure with no columns identified as a *megaron*.

In previous studies of the area scholars have argued that the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary is actually a small precinct of the larger Malophorus sanctuary. Thanks to a re-examination of the

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[75] Ettore Gabrici, *Topografia e Numismatica dell'antica Himera (e di Terme)*, in "Atti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti", XVII, Napoli (1894): 109-117, E. Gabrici, *Selinunte e Motye: frammenti epigrafici*, in "Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità", 1917, 341-348.
[76] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 132.
[77] Sebastiano Tusa, "Selinunte-Malophoros. Rapporto Preliminare sulla Seconda Campagna di Scavi." in *Sicilia Archeologica* Vol. 19 (1986): 15.

epigraphical and the archaeological evidence and the archaeological reports by Cristoforo Grotta in 2010, a new understanding has been accepted that the cults in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus and in the sacred area of the Meilichios sanctuary on the Gaggera hill were independent.

At the northeast corner of the sanctuary precinct are the remains of a small distyle prostyle in-antis shrine, assigned to Zeus Meilichios because of the inscriptions to the god in the *campo di stele* immediately west of the building.[78] The stelai themselves vary widely in shape and style. Some are truly aniconic tapering squared pillars or rectangular slabs, but all are carved from the local tufa limestone.[79] Many of the stelai had slid down the slope of the sandy hillside before their discovery, but "enough remained in place to indicate their arrangement was identical to 'campi di stele' found at numerous Punic sites."[80]

The identification of Zeus Meilichios comes from three inscriptions in archaic letter forms mentioning Meilichios among the body of carved stelai. Since Gabrici's excavation of the sanctuary, a lead tablet, one of the largest inscribed found in Sicily, was gifted to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1981. The tablet was de-accessioned by the Museum in the fall of 1991, and on February 20, 1992, was donated to the Republic of Italy.[81] The size of the tablet (59.7 cm by 23 cm by .2cm) and the "sacred laws" attributed to the god would underscore the significance of Zeus Meilichios during the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, the period to which the tablet has been dated.[82] The lead tablet and its ritual inscription will be explored below.

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[78] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Les Sacra from Selinous,* 133.
[79] Donald White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 342.
[80] White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 342.
[81] Jordan Jameson, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* vii.
[82] Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky, 48.

Excavation of the Malophorus and Meilichios sanctuaries continued in the mid-twentieth century and focused more heavily on the use of the sanctuary following the sacking of Selinous by Carthage in 409 BCE. The *megaron* underwent an extensive renovation, including barrel vaulting and corbelling reminiscent of fortification walls in the Punic territories in Motya and Eryx.[83] According to Antonio di Vita, who published on the precinct of Zeus Meilichios following the excavations that continued there in the 1950s, the stelai were found in a burnt stratum filled with animal bones, which he dates to the fourth century BCE.[84] Given the proximity of the sculpture to the burnt stratum in conjunction with the Hellenic style of some of the earlier stelai, researchers seem to agree that the stelai likely belonged to the fourth century, but certainly after 409 and before 250 BCE.[85]

Though varied in shape and scale, many of the stelai are herm-like and feature two carved heads, one male and one female. While some of the stelai clearly fall under the stylistic canon of Punic figural representation (Fig. 25), a number of the stelai found in the Meilichios precinct show a stark early Greek influence. Di Vita himself states that roughly ten of the stelai "appear to be influenced by the archaic and classical Greek art" and draws a connection between the archaizing style of the stelai and the archaic legacy of the terracotta statuettes of Demeter found deposited in the sanctuary "by the thousands."[86] Two stelai in particular (Fig. 3 and 4), which are in the Getty

[83] While there is no direct parallel to the corbelled arches in Western Sicily, the fifth and fourth-century building practices in Eryx and Motya respectively show a conversant familiarity with the sophisticated corbelled arches and vaults. This influence may have come from now lost techniques from Carthage itself, or from a familiarity with Greek cult centers further east, but the building phase corresponds to the period following Punic victory in Selinous in 409 BCE. See White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 341
[84] White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophorus at Selinus", 343
[85] White, 344
[86] Antonio Di Vita, "Le Stele Puniche dal Recinto di Zeus Meilichios a Selinunte." in *Studi annibalici: atti del Convegno svoltosi a Cortona*, Perugia, 1961, 240

collection along with the *lex sacra* tablet, show a male figure with a female consort in an archaizing Greek style. A careful study of this two stelai may shed light on the later cult activity attributed to Zeus Meilichios during the fourth-century hostilities between Greeks and Punics in Selinous.

Zeus Meilichios: Who is the god of honey?

The cult of Zeus, under the epithet Meilichios, has been attested throughout mainland Greece and its colonies. A handful of sites have been located in the Peloponnese, and an even larger number in and around Attica, and some Meilichios sanctuaries have been found as far east as Pergamon.[87] The god is represented on reliefs as a mature male with a beard and sitting on a throne, not dissimilar to the Olympian Zeus. He is commonly featured with or as a snake, a form he was known to take. Relief sculptures have been found of a giant snake with one or multiple worshippers (Fig. 26). The snake and the cornucopia, which is also associated with Meilichios' iconography, have particular chthonic associations, and it has been supposed that Meilichios has a close connection with the dead.[88]

Zeus Meilichios was also thought of as a protector of the house and the hearth. His cult across the Greek world seems to be more tailored to individual, familial, and gentilineal groups than to any urban scale. At Selinous, as was common for many deities particularly in Sicily, Zeus Meilichios appears to have held an important connection with the harvest. The *lex sacra* and *defixiones* provide an epigraphical understanding of the rituals practiced in service to Zeus Meilichios. Beyond the archaeological evidence in the *campo di stele,* there is historical evidence of the cult activity in its Punic phases. It will be helpful to understand the Greek cult of Zeus

[87] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 81-89
[88] Harrison, *The Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* 15-16

Meilichios to further understand what, if any, syncretism occurred following the Punic occupation of the site.

The god's epithet, which some have argued may be connected to "μέλι" (honey) or "μείλια" (figs), more likely corresponds with his role as a propitiatory figure. Pausanias refers to him as "gracious" or "easy-to-be-entreated" (Pausanias, II.20.1). Scholars have connected this meaning as related to the need for purification in Meilichios sanctuaries following a sacrifice. Also, as Meilichios is the "soother or kinder one" he is often found in cults of the household.[89] This Meilichios, especially as celebrated in mainland Greece, is the more appealing face of *Maimaktes*, "he who rages eager, thirsting and panting for blood."[90] Beyond Selinous, most of the historical record for the worship of Meilichios comes from Pausanias in connection to the Attic *Diasia*, a regular ancestral ritual that involved the holocaust (whole burning) of pigs. In this regard, the god is described as "a source of wealth, a sort of Ploutos."[91]

A thorough explanation of the rituals performed for Zeus Meilichios at Selinous, is laid out on a lead tablet, the *lex sacra.* Though the information contained in the text confirms much of what we generally know about the rituals of many Greek cults, this text is one of the most complete accounts of a Greek sacrificial ritual. That it is not from the Greek mainland, but from Sicily makes it doubly interesting, especially for the purposes of this thesis and those looking at Greek, Phoenician/Punic, and indigenous Sicilian cult practices and the borrowings from their hybridization. Based on stylistic analysis of the script compared to other lead inscriptions with confirmed dates, the tablet has been dated 461 BCE or very soon thereafter.[92] It contains two

[89] Milette Gaifman, *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity,* Oxford University Press, 2012, 156.
[90] Jane Harrison, *The Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* Cambridge University Press, 1908, 17
[91] Harrison, *The Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* 15
[92] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 48.

columns of text written in an early Selinuntian script, divided down the middle by a bronze band. A translation of the inscription reads:[93]

> Column A: … leaving behind … but let the *homosepuoi* perform the consecration. Traces in a *rasura*. … the *hiara [sic]*, the sacrifices [are to be performed] before [the festival of] the Kotytia and [before] the truce, in the fifth year, in which the Olympiad also occurs. To Zeus Eumenes [and] the Eumenides sacrifice a full-grown [sheep], and to Zeus Meilichios in the [plot] of Myskos a full-grown [sheep]. [Sacrifice] to the Tritopatores, the impure, as [one sacrifice] to the heroes, having poured a libation of wine down through the roof, and of the ninth parts burn one. Let those to whom it is permitted perform sacrifice and consecrate, and having performed aspersion let them perform the anointing, and afterward let them sacrifice a full-grown [sheep] to the pure (Tritopatores). Pouring down a libation of honey mixture, [let him set out] both a table and a couch, and let him put on [them] a pure cloth and crowns of olive and honey mixture in new cups and cakes and meat; and having made offerings let them burn (them), and let them perform the anointing having put the cups in. Let them perform the ancestral sacrifices as to the gods. To [Zeus] Meilichios in the [plot] of Euthydamos let them sacrifice a ram. And let it also be possible to sacrifice after a year. Let him take out the public hiara and put out a table before [them], and burn a thigh and the offerings from the table and the bones. Let no meat be carried out [of the precinct]. Let him invite whomever he wishes. And let it also be possible to sacrifice after a year, at home. Let them slaughter … statues … [Let them sacrifice] whatever sacrifice the ancestral customs permit … in the third year ….
>
> Column B: [If a …] man [wishes] to be purified from *elasteroi*, having [the host] made a proclamation from wherever he wishes and whenever in the year he wishes and in whatever [month] he wishes and on whatever day he wishes, having made the proclamation whithersoever he wishes, let [the killer] be purified. [And on] receiving [him], let him give [water] to wash himself with and a breakfast and salt to this same one, and having sacrificed a piglet to Zeus, let him go out from it, and let him turn around; and let him be addressed, and take food for himself and sleep wherever he wishes. If anyone wishes to purify himself, with respect to a foreign or native one, either one that has been heard or one that has been seen, or anyone at all, let him purify himself in the same way as the homicide does after he has been purified of an elasteros. Having sacrificed a full-grown [sheep] on the public altar, let him be pure. Having marked a boundary sprinkling seawater from a golden [vessel], let him go away. Whenever one needs to sacrifice to the *elasteros*, sacrifice as to the immortals. But let him slaughter [the victim so that the blood flows] into the earth.

Debates surrounding the *lex sacra* have generally focused on the identification of the two toponyms: the land of Myskos and the plot of Euthydamos. The funerary stele of a man named Myskos, thought to be a possible co-founder of Selinous with Pammilos, has influenced the debate. According to Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, both Myskos and Euthydamos established

[93] Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky, 14-17.

gentilinial groups that were linked to the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* or to the prescribed rituals.[94] It has also been suggested that the two were ancestors who had achieved the role of heroes, again as *patriai* of the gentilineal cult, or even delegates of the two "*gene*" that held the priesthood of the god and were responsible for the sacrificial rites. Following a different interpretative path, Noel Robertson has suggested that *Myskos* and *Euthydamos* were the names of the city districts where the rites took place.[95] A more likely understanding, which places the religious activity within the confines of the sanctuary, explains these expressions as references to two stones of Zeus *Meilichios* set up in the *campo di stele* next to which the rites proscribed in the tablet were performed.[96]

The ritual described in *lex sacra* is less ambiguous, however, and scholars all tend to agree on the role of purification necessary for all involved in the sacrifice before performing the rite. The rules at Selinous are in line with Meilichios' epithet as "the Gracious One, naturally the divinity of purification."[97] Also central to the sacrificial site, barring Robinson's lone theory regarding city districts, are the sacred stones near which the ritual is meant to be performed. Where column A (Fig. 27) provides a normative ritual in a public sacrifice in the sanctuary, column B (Fig. 28) discusses an offering to Meilichios of a more personal nature. After purification, a man or woman guilty of homicide would be able to perform a sacrifice to Zeus. At Selinous, the agent of the sacrifice was the committer of homicide himself. His return to everyday life was additionally denoted by the recovered freedom to talk, eat, and sleep wherever he preferred. The *lex sacra* provide a context for the ritual of the Zeus Meilichios sanctuary prior to its sacking by Carthage

[94] Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky*,* 121, Also see Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars,* 6.4.2
[95] Noel Robertson, *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities: The Sacred Laws of Selinus and Cyrene* 132–134: *Myskos* and *Euthydamos* represented two symbolic conditions, one indicated a state of impurity and the other an ordinary member of the *demos*.
[96] Cristoforo Grotta, *Zeus Meilichios a Selinunte.* Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2010, 228
[97] Harrison, *The Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* 17

in 409 BCE. Though the stone proscribes a ritual norm of sacrifice and chthonic associations, there was likely no human sacrifice associated with his cult, a trend that continued into the Carthaginian period of occupation.

In general, Zeus Meilichios is featured in iconography as a solitary deity, either a bearded man on a throne or as a snake into which he was known to be transformed. Outside Selinous, Zeus Meilichios usually appears without a female consort. Two exceptions are Zeus Meilichios and *Meiliche* at Thespiai and Zeus Meilichios and Hera Meilichia at Hierapytna, both identified by inscriptions.[98] The two Hellenic stelai from Selinous feature two heads, one male and one female. The more stylistically Punic stelai also feature two heads, identified by Vincenzo Tusa as male and female, possibly judging by the disparate sizes. The change in tradition is noticed after the fifth century at Selinous when Greeks were no longer dominant in the city or the sanctuary. There is a possibility raised by Antonio di Vita that the so-called double herms may feature, instead of Zeus, local variations of Pluto and Persephone "whose cults were widely celebrated in Punic North Africa."[99]

The Stelai: Tophet or Herm?

The so-called *campo di stele* was found immediately to the west of the Zeus Meilichios precinct (Fig. 29). Among the stelai, the large inscribed lead tablet (the *lex sacra*) and twelve inscribed lead tablets or *defixiones* were found. Lead curse tablets are found at many sites in Sicily, in mainland Greece and in many other parts of the Greek world, and are often found in association with funerary or chthonic ritual contexts.[100] Though no burial remains have been found in the

[98] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Les Sacra from Selinous,* 98
[99] White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 334
[100] In a ritual context these curse tablets have also been found at Morgantina in western-central Sicily. In the Greek world they have also been found in athletic contexts, cursing adversaries.

Meilichios precinct, the archaeological evidence yields interesting comparisons to the Punic *tophet* sanctuaries.

Tophet sanctuaries are understood as precincts of Punic ritual child sacrifice involving the cremation and subsequent offering of the victims' charred remains in terracotta urns deposited in the ground. The term derives from a reference in the Hebrew Bible "to a roasting area in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom where Israelite children were sacrificed by fire."[101] Recent scholarship surmises that the *tophet* may actually have been primarily cemeteries for children who died before they had been fully integrated into the community and as such required separate burial.[102]

Originating in the Punic world, *tophet* sanctuaries have been found at multiple sites in Phoenician settlements throughout the western Mediterranean as well, a sacred rite that maritime settlers took with them on their expansion west.[103] Particular sites, and those used most often as case studies for western Phoenician sacred spaces, are found at Sulcis in Sardinia and at Motya off the coast of Sicily. One of the more characteristic elements of *tophet* sites are the stelai that were used as grave markers. A visual comparison of the *tophet* and the *campo di stele* has led some scholars to suggest that the later use of the Zeus Meilichios precinct may have been as a *tophet*, though lack of burial remains may cast doubt on this theory.

The fourth-century stelai offer the most compelling comparison to *tophet* sanctuaries, but they are not the only connection that has led scholars to an understanding of the Punic use of the Meilichios precinct as a *tophet*. According to Antonio di Vita's identification of the site as *tophet*,

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[101] Glenn Markoe, "Phoenicia", *Encyclopedia of Archaeology.* Edited by Deborah M. Pearsall, Amsterdam: Elsevier Inc. 2008, (2008), 875

[102] Urquhart, "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society", 269

[103] For the most recent discussion of the tophet, see Bruno D'Andrea, *Bambini nel "limbo": dati e proposte interpretive sui tofet fenici e punici*. *Collection de l'École française de Rome, 552.* Rome: École Française de Rome, 2018.

"the most tangible signs are an enormous accumulation of ashes and burned bones of sacrificed animals" found between the Malophorus and Meilichios *temene.*[104] The animal remains are indicative of both Greek and Punic ritual sacrifice and are found continuously from the earliest Greek levels.[105] The most telling characteristic of a *tophet*, however, is deposits of urns containing the cremated remains of children, a detail noticeably lacking from Selinous. According to Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, the stelai themselves may also not be indicative of a *tophet*, as they are lacking a characteristic use of symbol and inscription.[106]

Lela Urquhart's 2010 study of Phoenician colonial religion in Sicily and Sardinia provides a good general description of the stelai most often associated with *tophet* sanctuaries. Judging from those found throughout sites in Sicily and Sardinia, the *tophet* stelai were often carved to represent a *naiskos*, and perhaps even depict "formulaically, but accurately, actual religious structures."[107] The stelai often show a low relief-sculpted figure standing within the doorway of a shrine. The varied dates of such stelai draw on a "fairly widespread Phoenician *koinê* of sacred iconographic representation, particularly as it pertains to more supernatural concepts of divinity."[108]

The stelai found at the Zeus Meilichios Sanctuary seem to speak to a different tradition than the burial marker stelai found in the *tophet.* Inscriptions on stelai from the Greek phase of the site in the first have of the fifth century speak to a use of the stones as the very marker for Zeus

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[104] White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 342. According to Ettore Gabrici in "Il Santuario della Malophorus a Selinunte", over 2800 animal bones were found and analyzed as belonging to seven categories of animals: goat, cow, deer, horse, pig, dog and hen. The stratum in which these were found was over a meter thick (155).
[105] Birgitta Bergquist's 1992 study of the practice of setting up stelai associated with sacrificial deposits in Sicily and Magna Graecia is firm in distinguishing them from Carthaginian tophets. See Birgitta Bergquist "A Particular Western Greek Cult Practice? The Significance of *Stele*-crowned, Sacrificial Deposits in *Open Athens,* Vol. 19 (1992): 45.
[106] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 138.
[107] Urquhart, "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society," 300.
[108] Urquhart, 300.

Meilichios. A stelai with the genitive form of Lukiskos, followed by the words "I am Meilichios" may offer itself as a stand in for the god, or more likely, a suggestion of location.[109] Instead of identifying the stelai itself, the first-person verb may locate its subject at its particular place. This earlier tradition as a marker for Zeus within the sanctuary may perhaps continue into the Punic period of the sanctuary, though the change is certainly marked. Where the Greek period is marked aniconic "speaking object" stelai, the Punic phase features predominantly Punic of Greek stylized single and double herms, a more literal stand in the for god perhaps.

The sculptural tradition described by Urquhart is not clearly visible in any of the stylistic details on the carved stelai from Selinous. In fact, apart from one twin herm stolen from the Tegea Museum in Arcadia in the early 1990s, side by side twin herms with male and female heads seem to be unique to Selinous.[110] There may be reason to understand the Punic stelai as a continuation of the use of earlier Greek herms as markers found at crossroads and around sacred spaces.[111] Rather than dedications, these stelai may be understood as embodiments of the gods, "powerful objects in themselves."[112] An examination of one early inscription, in conjunction with the fourth-century stelai, may provide insights into the identity of the deities depicted on the twin herms and what, if any, syncretism occurred during the fourth-century evolution of the sanctuary.

Punic religion and Meilichios

In the field immediately outside of the Zeus Meilichios sacred precinct, roughly one hundred stelai were found, all but ten distinctly Punic in style, and all dating roughly to the fourth century BCE. Initially, the *campo di stele* would seem to be an entirely Punic sacred setting, except

[109] Gaifman, *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity,* 201.
[110] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 105.
[111] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, 106
[112] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, 105.

that the *lex sacra* and *defixiones*, as well as the Greek inscribed stone dedication to Meilichios, that were found in the same area. It is curious that the new Punic occupation allowed the remnants of the Meilichios cult to survive "the passage of time and [Greeks] were allowed to keep their original position when the new cult took over," as Donald White suggests.[113] If a foreign cult did indeed displace the cult of Zeus Meilichios, there is no reason why a new Punic occupation would not have destroyed what remained of the Greek cult. It may be more likely that a syncretism occurred between the cult of the old with that of the new inhabitants.

In addition to the stelai, a miniature altar of the same local tufa as the stelai, probably also from the Meilichios precinct of Selinous, is in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 30).[114] The stone altar was worked carefully to a smooth front surface and with a molding along the top and bottom. On its left side is a small graffito in Phoenician lettering (Fig. 31). Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky posit that this may be the earliest-known inscription from the Gaggera.[115] Joseph Naveh provided a tentative reading of the graffito in 1993 as *cbmlk,* and translates the inscription as "servant of MLK (Molek)."[116] The translation of MLK as "king," or more likely the god Molek, is not discussed.

The inscription naming Molek on a miniature altar sheds new light on an understanding of the Punic cult activity at Selinous. Earlier arguments have suggested that the deities depicted on the twin herms from the *campo di stele* may have featured Pluto and Persephone, or perhaps even

[113] White, "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophoros at Selinus", 344
[114] The miniature altar has small dimensions (5.2 × 6.2 x 3.5 cm). The accession number for the object is 81.AA.143. This altar was donated along with the stelai by Dr. Max Gerchik in 1981.

[115] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 339
[116] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, 339.

Ba'al Hammon and Tanit, gods of arguably equal status in the Carthaginian pantheon.[117] The possibility has been raised that there may be more of a connection between Molek and Meilichios than has ever been investigated. This connection is raised in the final pages of *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* but it is possible that through their contacts with Phoenicians in the Levant and the Aegean the Greeks adopted aspects of the cult of MLK/Molek that helped to produce the cult of Meilichios.[118]

Our knowledge of Molek comes from the Old Testament in which the god is understood as the deity associated with child sacrifice (2 Kings 23:10; Jeramiah 32:25).[119] One of the most thorough studies of the Canaanite deity comes from George Heider's 1985 monograph on Molek, in which he focuses on the god's association as a chthonic deity. Like the Greek divinity, Molek had chthonic aspects, was associated with the well-being of lineage and with purification, but unlike Meilichios, he still held a strong connection to child sacrifice and necromancy. Given this

[117] Antonio di Vita suggests the possibility that Meilichios and Pasikretia were local variations for Pluto and Persephone, whose cults were widely celebrated in Punic North Africa. Donald White draws the connection between Tanit and Ba'al Hammon, suggesting that the Demeter cult transferred to Tanit and Meilichios was worshipped anew as Ba'al Hammon. Both suggestions are discussed in Donald White "The Post-Classical Cult of Malophorus at Selinus."

[118] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky discuss the possibility that earlier "contacts and borrowings in the realm of cult, as well as myth and art, between Greece and the Near East in the Archaic period have come to be regarded as plausible in recent years." (140). In fact, Joseph Shaw proposed the existence of a Phoenician cult on the south coast of Crete, identified by three upright, tapering stones, that was established in the eighth century BCE, predating the establishment of the earliest Zeus Meilichios cult. See Joseph Shaw, "Phoenicians in Southern Crete" in the *AJA* Vol. 93, No. 2 (1989): 165-183.

[119] The Second Book of Kings, section 12:10 states, "And he defiled Topheth [*sic*], which is in the Valley of the Children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molek." The Book of Jeramiah also references the tophet and Molek, stating, "And they built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molek which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind, that they should do this abomination, to cause Judah to sin."

hypothesis, the dearth of human remains in the area raises questions about how a god associated with child sacrifice could have been appeased.

If early interaction with cults of Molek did indeed influence the cult of Meilichios, it may be reasonable to suggest that a new iteration of the Molek cult, more concerned with the well-being of the gentilineal group and purification, was influenced by the cult of Meilichios at Selinous. Literary and archaeological records indicate that a certain percentage of the Selinuntian population was made up of Greek inhabitants following their defeat in 409 BCE. The conflict perpetuated between the Greeks and Phoenicians in the fifth century may have done more than influence the artistic tradition of the two groups in the following century.

Greek artistry certainly influenced the sculptural dedication in the fourth century, as evidenced by the two twin herms found alongside more Punic models (Fig. 25). If there is reason to believe the remaining Greek population had any cultic interaction in the Meilichios precinct in the fourth century, the two groups may have focused more on the shared chthonic association between Meilichios and Molek. Indeed, the combination of human and animal remains would have polluted the sanctuary, which already required thorough purification preceding and following the normal sacrifice of animals. Human remains, especially sacrificial, was "antithetical to Greek practice."[120] The borrowing of the Carthaginian practice of erecting stone stelai, along with a shared connection between the two chthonic deities (in the new iteration of Molek), could have provided the opportunity to facilitate the participation of the old inhabitants alongside the new, creating a new image of post-conflict hybridization.

[120] Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous,* 138.

IV: Segesta: Elymians with a Greek Temple

Segesta is one of a relatively small number of indigenous sites in Sicily that managed to remain independent from the growing control of Phoenician and Greek colonialism. This is perhaps due in part to their powerful allies, the Segestans—on both sides. Early allies of the Punics in western Sicily, the Segestans were early in fighting the expansion of Sicilian Greeks following their foundation of Selinous in the seventh century BCE. During the conflict with Selinous in 416 BCE, Segestans appealed to Athenians for aid against the advancing Selinuntians, themselves aided by the strong military power of tyrannical Syracuse.

In the same period, a monumental Doric temple was erected along the slopes of Monte Barbaro, down the mountain from the ancient settlement (Fig. 5). The temple is one of a small number in Sicily—the Segestans, it is argued, also erected the no-longer-extant Temple of Aphrodite in Eryx—erected by "the only non-Greek peoples who made the Greek temple so much their own."[121] The temple itself, for its own precise "Greekness," has long been studied as one of the leading examples of "Hellenization" in western Sicily. The reality, however, may be more complicated.

The Doric temple of Segesta clearly represents a large economic investment for the Elymian settlement, but rather than the remnants of a *polis* giving into Greek hegemony, the temple becomes a symbol of Segesta's tradition of political expediency. It is significant that the temple itself is unfinished, and evidence of the "Hellenization" in the religious developments remains obscure. Studying the specific elements of Greek and Phoenician influence that may have affected

[121] Michael Kolb and Robert Speakman, "Elymian Regional Interaction in Iron Age Sicily: A Preliminary Neutron Activation Study of Incised/Impressed Pottery", In the *Journal of Archaeological Science,* vol. 32 (2005): 795.

the material culture of indigenous sites, and the reasons for such integration may produce a more complete picture of indigenous response to colonization and conflict on the island.

The Legacy of Troy: Elymians in Sicily

Greek literary tradition can provide historians with a wealth of evidence, but particularly in Sicily, such conventional sources must be checked by the archaeological evidence. Just as Phoenician identity was defined by the histories of Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus, so too was that of the indigenous peoples of Sicily. Thucydides describes the settlement of Segesta, along with the mountain settlement at Eryx (modern Erice), by refugees of the Trojan War in his sixth book of *The Peloponnesian Wars*, (VI.2.3). The true origins remain obscure, and historians have only recently begun to question the accuracy of Thucydides literary account. Recent archaeological evidence, however, does corroborate Thucydides' account that indigenous settlements may have been pushed inland by the early Punic and Greek settlement patterns.[122]

At Segesta—and the other major Elymian stronghold, Eryx—excavations have so far yielded very little Iron Age material, but this may not necessarily challenge Thucydides' model for Early Iron Age settlement in Sicily. At Erice, the medieval town laid waste to most of the ancient material culture. Likewise at Segesta, the remnants which may point to Iron Age settlement—likely to be found at Monte Barbaro where there is an Archaic settlement—may have been destroyed by later activity, or are still buried under layers of erosion and fill.[123] An acropolis, likely dated to the eighth century BCE, along with some of the earliest material found in later

[122] While evidence for indigenous coastal populations is scarce, such evidence disappears after the seventh century BCE. See Emma Blake and Robert Schon, "The Marsala Hinterland Survey: Preliminary Report." in *Etruscan Studies,* vol. 13 (2010): 54.
[123] See Sandra Bernardini, Franco Cambi, Alessandra Molinari, and Ilaria Neri, "Il Territorio di Segesta fra l'Età Arcaica e il Medioevo. Nuovi Dati dalla Carta Archeologica di Calatafimi." in *Atti delle terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area elima,* Pisa: Gibellina, 2000: 91-133.

deposits, was discovered in the 1920s, but has since been totally destroyed.[124] Based on the archaeological evidence that is available, the first substantial occupation of Segesta did not occur until the sixth century BCE.

The first major excavation primarily interested in questions of indigenous culture and geographical boundaries was carried out by Vincenzo Tusa at the Contrada Mango sanctuary, beginning in 1953. Tusa is credited with many excavations of inland sites, including at Monte Polizzo, Segesta, and Entella. The result was a greater understanding of indigenous groups in Sicily and the so-called "Hellenization" of the island.

Stylistic analysis of the earliest finds available from Segesta, and neighboring "Elymian" sites have suggested a related group that would have predated the influence of the Punic and Greek settlers. Though archaeology is still unable to confirm or definitively rule out Thucydides' account of the earliest Elymians arriving from Troy and forming a formal *ethne* in western Sicily, enough material culture has been found to confirm a cohesive identifying group predating the arrival of Greeks or Phoenicians. Vincenzo Tusa's excavations in Segesta in 1953 aimed at identifying what, if any, definitive evidence of material markers might exist to help differentiate indigenous Sicilian groups.[125]

The series of excavations that followed over the next thirty years did not find clear differences between Elymian and Sican material cultures. By the early 1990s, however, Giuseppe Nenci founded the Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'Area Elima (CESDAE), drawing a definitive line of the "area elima" to include the entire area of Sicily west of the Imera-Salsa river

[124] Lela Urquhart, "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society", 118.
[125] Ian Morris, et. al. "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, III: Preliminary Report on the 2002 Season" In *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* vo. 48 (2003): 244.

line (Fig. 32). This regional identification has been corroborated by recent stylistic analysis of incised pottery from the ninth to fifth centuries BCE, after which one can point to a notable shift to more Greek or Punic styles in the ceramic production of western Sicily. Michael Kolb and Robert Speakman performed a neutron activation analysis of the available incised pottery for the duration of Elymian settlement at Segesta, roughly the ninth to the fifth centuries BCE (Fig. 33). Though the available ceramic collection was relatively small—due in large part to the dearth of remains recovered from indigenous sites—there seems to be a notable homogeneity of styles from sites in and around Segesta (Fig. 34).

Segesta and Political Strategy

The longevity of Segesta is due in large part to the Elymians' political astuteness. Segestans maintained a long-term alliance with the Carthaginians in Western Sicily beginning in the sixth century BCE. Fifth century BCE hostilities that grew between Selinuntians and Segestans may have spurred the large building project of the Doric temple, as a tool to appeal to mainland Greeks seeking aid. Hostilities with Sicilian Greeks continued, and Segesta remained faithful to Carthage throughout the fourth century. Finally, in the third century, the Segestans managed to negotiate, once again, with a new threat to the Mediterranean, the Romans. Their defection to Rome in 262 BCE would ensure their survival as the Romans lay waste to the major Greek and Punic centers in Sicily. Tracking the duration of political changes at Segesta will provide the context to understand such a large building project as the Doric temple.

Segesta helped to counter expanding Greek power with the invasion of Pentathlos, the leader of the Rhodian and Knidian colonists in 580 BCE. Pentathlos was sent to aid Selinous in their western expansion, with the hopes of expanding Greek territory to Cape Lilybaion (Latin

Lilybaeum).[126] The Selinuntians, Knidians, and Rhodians joined forces against the Elymians, Sicilian Punics, and Carthaginians. Diodorus Siculus states that the main battle between the two alliances took place near Lilybaeum, in the hinterland between Selinous and Segesta (V.9.2-3). Pentathlos was killed; the Greeks were defeated, and immediately afterwards the Elymi and the Carthaginians attacked Lilybaion and drove off from there the Knidians and Rhodians. After the Selinuntians' defeat in 576 BCE, having realized the strength of the joint Punic and Elymian forces, Greek Sicilians found a compromise with Carthage. Segesta, seeing no route for westward expansion, choose instead to focus on the promotion of trade.

Segesta's alliance with Selinous remained strong in the first quarter of the fifth century when the first major battle of the Sicilian-Punic wars broke out at Himera in 480 BCE. The archaeological record of the aftermath of the Battle of Himera shows little change in the material culture of Segesta. The battle itself is attested, however, in the literary record (Diodorus Siculus, XI.24-25) and by the Temple of Nike at Himera, constructed shortly after the battle (Fig. 35). The next great conflict comes in the last quarter of the fifth century and provides the pretext for the Doric temple at Segesta. The details of the conflict and the literary and archaeological record will be discussed below.

Segesta was one of the first sites in Magna Graecia to establish an alliance with Athens.[127] Whether Segesta or Athens gained any advantage to the mid-fifth-century treaty is unclear, but contact had been established. Conflict with Syracuse and Leontinoi in 427 BCE may have provided the context for Athenian and Syracusan hostilities, and also led to further communication between

[126] Vincenzo Tusa, "L'irradiazione della Civiltà Greca nella Sicilia Occidentale." *Kokalos: studi pubblicati dall'istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo,* Vol. 8 (1962): 166.
[127] Marcus Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BCE,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933, no. 31. Tod dates the alliance to 454-453 BCE.

Athens and Segesta. Contact between the Segestans and Athenians was strong enough by 416 BCE that the Segestans could appeal to Athens for help against the Selinuntians. The political expediency of the temple complex is even more clear in light of a reference by Nikias, the Athenian political and general, to the Segestans as barbarians, made in the same year that Segesta was appealing to the Athenians for aid (Thucydides VI.11.7).[128] It is reasonable to suggest that the Segestans would have considered it a good idea to apply a Hellenic veil to what was, in fact, a very non-Greek settlement, so as to assure the Athenians of their cultural wealth and the stability of the alliance.

Perhaps the Segestans' greatest coup came in 262 BCE when Segestans took sides with the Romans, killing the Carthaginian garrison in the process.[129] Seemingly calling on their own foundation myth—the tradition of Trojan settlement in western Sicily had been frequently mentioned in ancient literature after Thucydides account—the Elymians forged an alliance through their shared kinship group, the Romans.[130] In 248 BCE, after the Romans had captured western Sicily, Segesta was spared from destruction and "relieved of the obligation to pay tithes to Rome."[131]

With the arrival of each new threat, the Segestans adapted their material culture to appease and reflect the ideologies of their neighbors. This tradition can be traced from the first major territory dispute in western Sicily in the sixth century BCE into the third century BCE with the

[128] Alison Burford, "Temple Building at Segesta." *The Classical Quarterly,* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1961): 88.
[129] G. Karl Galinsky. "Aeneid V and the Aeneid." *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 89, No. 2 (1968): 179.
[130] Ian Morris, *et. al.* "Stanford University Excavations on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, Sicily, III: Preliminary Report on the 2002 Season." 286.
[131] Claire Lyons, Michael Bennett, and Clemente Marconi. *Sicily: Art and Invention Between Greece and Rome,* Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013, 155.

erection of the Greek theater, built 100 meters up the slope of Monte Barbaro from the Doric temple (Fig. 36). The tracking of Segesta's material changes can certainly be seen as a result of a widespread "Hellenization" when decontextualized and discussed in the broader Greek narrative. This model, however, gives little agency to Segesta's adaptive self-preservation. A globalization model,[132] and one born out of the contact of conflict, is more accurate in describing the intentional adaptations to material culture as seen at Segesta.

Conflict with Selinous

Thucydides' history of Sicily and its populations sets the stage for his account of Athens' "doomed Sicilian expedition" (VI.6-7). In terms of this larger program, his attention to western Sicily provides a background for the conflict between two cities, Segesta and Selinous, that started the chain of events that would result in Athens' attack on Syracuse. Thucydides (VI.6.2) describes a dispute between Elymian Segesta and Greek Selinous regarding "certain questions of marriage and disputed land."

The detailed account of such treaties is unknown, and only available through the ancient sources, but certainly in western Sicily, the contract between Segesta and Selinous that governed property rights and marriages points to certain modes of contact formalized through agreement. There was a common enough regional sense of contract-making and negotiation for this to have happened. It also suggests that ethnic definitions hardened politically for definitive boundary and gentilineal treaties to be drawn. A detailed account is provided by Diodorus Siculus (XII.82):[133]

> In Sicily war broke out between the Egestaeans and the Selinuntians from a difference over territory, where a river divided the lands of the quarrelling cities. The Selinuntians, crossing the stream, at first seized by force the land along the river, but later they cut off for their own a large piece of the adjoining territory, utterly disregarding the rights

[132] For an overview of the globalization, or rather, Mediterraneanization debate, see Ian Morris, "Mediterraneanization," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2003): 30-55.
[133] English Translation by C. H. Oldfather. Vol. 4-8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1989.

> of the injured parties. The people of Egesta, aroused to anger, at first endeavored to persuade them by verbal arguments not to trespass on the territory of another city; however, when no one paid any attention to them, they advanced with an army against those who held the territory, expelled them all from their fields, and themselves seized the land. Since the quarrel between the two cities had become serious, the two parties, having mustered soldiers, sought to bring about the decision by recourse to arms. Consequently, when both forces were drawn up in battle-order, a fierce battle took place in which the Selinuntians were the victors, having slain not a few Egestaeans. Since the Egestaeans had been humbled and were not strong enough of themselves to offer battle, they at first tried to induce the Akragantini and the Syracusans to enter into an alliance with them. Failing in this, they sent ambassadors to Carthage to beseech its aid. And when the Carthaginians would not listen to them, they looked about for some alliance overseas; and in this, chance came to their aid.

Expanding Greek power in western Sicily placed pressure on the Elymians and Punics to defend their territory. In 416 BCE, the Carthaginian alliance with Selinous was tested over a territory dispute between the Greek *polis* and its neighbor Segesta. Before their great conflict with Selinous, Segestans had enjoyed a territorial agreement and marital alliance with the western Sicilian Greeks. Backed by a powerful alliance with Syracuse under the Deinomenid tyranny, Selinous' victory seemed within reach. Segesta appealed to the Greek mainland in time, bringing the Athenians into western Sicily.

The conflict between Selinous and Segesta is described by Thucydides from the mainland Greek/Athenian perspective as the failed Sicilian expedition of the Athenians, and a pretext for their later invasion of Syracuse in 415 BCE. For Thucydides, the Athenian defeat in aid to Segesta represents a profound failure on the part of the Athenians. According to Thucydides, they did not understand this island before they sent in their military, although, as Thucydides' own account illustrates, they could have (VI.6.2). The late fifth-century conflict between Segesta and Selinous may have been the catalyst for the initiation of the Doric temple by the Elymians. It would certainly have taken a great threat to spur the mythological descendants of Troy to invest in the monumental building of such a symbol of the Greeks.

Temple Building at Segesta

The question of how Greek temples were constructed, and whether the method generally used was applied to the structure at Segesta, depends to some extent on the understanding of the Segestans' motives for building. The prevailing views of its motive and architectural model are unconnected. While many scholars accept the temple as the remnants of a dejected scheme to build a complete temple, a widely held theory is that there may not have existed a plan to complete the temple, or that the temple was merely a Hellenizing decorative element around an Elymian shrine. This theory posits that the Segestan's interest in the construction of the temple was purely superficial, which is altogether incongruent with the economic investment required or the temple project and its faithfulness to Greek counterparts.[134]

The structure is a Doric peripteral temple (measuring 23 x 58 m) with a peristyle of fourteen unfluted columns on the long sides and six on the short sides, decorated with the standard Doric elements: an elevated stylobate, columns composed of drums topped by Doric capitals, and an architrave with alternating triglyphs and metopes. The temple appears to be incomplete since a cella was never constructed. However, as cuttings in the foundation blocks revealed, a cella certainly seems to have been intended for the building.[135] Segesta's close contact with Selinous may have provided a context for Segesta's study of Greek temple architecture. Selinous, second perhaps only to Akragas, was the most temple-conscious site in Sicily, with six temples in the Doric style constructed between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE.[136]

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[134] The Doric temple has clear parallels to the Hephaestion, the Parthenon, and the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina.
[135] Burford, "Temple Building at Segesta," 89.
[136] Marconi, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World,* Cambridge University Press, 2007. Marconi discussed the entire temple complex at Selinous, a comparison only known at Akragas, 29-60.

This Doric temple is one of two found at Segesta. The earlier temple whose construction began in the mid-fifth century BCE was found in the Contrada Mango sanctuary.[137] It has not been fully excavated, and it is suggested that there may have been a previous temple before it, underneath the foundations.[138] By the late-fifth century, *ca.* 420 BCE, when the builders at Segesta turned their attention to the slope of the slope of Monte Barbaro and to a new Temple, they built conspicuously in the landscape to appeal to the Athenians. Margaret Miles suggests that the architect of Segesta was likely a Sicilian, though clearly familiar with the building plan of the Parthenon—either by having worked there or though Iktinos' book about the Parthenon which would have provided the theoretical details.[139]

There are strong parallels on the Greek mainland for the later Temple of Segesta. Notably, the building order at Segesta parallels the method exemplified in the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus (Fig. 37). Though dated almost forty years after the temple construction at Segesta, the builders of the Temple of Asklepios inscribed stones documenting the working methods. The inscriptions are as a whole unique in providing a complete accounting of the processes involved, and in particular the order of construction of the various elements. It consists of a statement of the work let out by contract, together with the contract price, and the laying of foundations.[140]

At Segesta, builders began constructing the temple from the outside in, and seem to have complied with two generally observed rules of temple building. First, one did not flute columns or fine-dress pavements until the building material for the interior of the temple was brought in and there was no longer any danger of damaging finished work. Second, and more importantly, the

[137] Margaret Miles, "Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily," *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome,* 153.
[138] Miles, "Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily," 153.
[139] Miles, 155.
[140] Burford, "Temple Building at Segesta", 89.

evidence makes it clear that one usually began building the *peristasis* first and worked inwards (Fig. 38).[141] Though the recorded building methods date after the construction of the Temple of Segesta, a comparable building order for the Hephaisteion (Fig. 39), the Parthenon (Fig. 40), and the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina (Fig. 41) speak to an established tradition.[142]

In accounting for this concentration of attention on the *peristasis*, one should consider the interests which prompted the building project. At Epidauros, for example, a temple was required for immediate use in the newly-expanding cult of Asklepios.[143] Paradoxically at Segesta, the motive was perhaps primarily to make a show of Doric architecture as evidence of the city's cultural enthusiasm for the sake of impressing the Athenians. The wish to have a proper temple for cult purposes may have come second, if at all.[144]

The temple of Segesta is broadly dated to the late fifth century BCE, and likely, it was the political conflict growing between Selinous and Segesta, and an opportunity to appeal to the Greek mainland, that inspired the initiation of the building project. It seems likely that work on the temple began in 416 BCE, about the time when the Segestans appealed to Athens for help in their quarrel with Selinous. It would be much more plausible to interpret the building as a cultural flourish made to impress the Athenians at that time. This motive for the erection of the temple also provides context for its sudden abandonment of the building shortly after foundations for the cella were laid.

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[141] Burford, 90.
[142] Burford, 89-91. The connection between the temple at Segesta and the Parthenon is explored in Miles, ""Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily," *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome*, 155.
[143] Burford, 91.
[144] Because the temple remained unfinished, and no religious dedications have been found, it is unclear what, if any, ritual significance there was for the temple at Segesta. See Burford's entire article for the most extensive discussion of the temple.

The whole project is somewhat in keeping with the Segestans' well-known use of propaganda in the name of political practicality. However, even though the *peristasis* may have been built as a blatant piece of propaganda, it does not rule out the possibility that the Segestans were sufficiently Hellenized to have aspired to complete a Doric temple, built by masons trained in the traditions and according to the methods of Greek temple architecture. Given the continuation of an earlier temple at Contrada Mango, and the later temple of Monte Barbaro, the political strategy to erect this late-fifth-century temple was not an isolated event. The Elymians evidently had experience with temple building and worked to construct their latest vesture in a clear style that would appeal to the Athenians, echoing their symbol of strength and victory on the Acropolis.

Hellenization or Hybridity?

Monumentalization of indigenous sites, like at Segesta and Eryx, have long fit into the Hellenocentric tradition and larger "Hellenization model" narrative. More as a "shorthand for the adoption of the superior Greek culture by non-Greeks" than anything else, the "Hellenization model" grew out of conceptualizations of colonization and cultural contact that are now outdated. Yet, the overall theme "dies hard." The unidirectional model, which places indigenous populations in a passive role against the spread of colonial influence, does not accurately represent the agency exhibited by indigenous cultures in their own attempts to combat, cohabitate, and find economic or political advantage with Punic and Greek settlers.[145]

Hellenization, whether in Punic or indigenous contexts, may instead benefit from models like hybridity or globalization, which more accurately account for a larger picture of the

[145] Case studies of Greek expansion, particularly in the 2006 book *Greek Colonisation,* propell a narrative of western-spreading influence predominantly on the part of the Greeks. What is more accurate is the narrative of the last decade, particularly explore by Lela Urquhart in "Colonial Religion and Indigenous Society" of multidirectional influence between Greeks, Punics, and indigenous groups in Sicily.

heterogeneity of group in Sicily, searching indeed to expand influence, but above all to survive. Segesta is perhaps the best example of this survival. Rather than a passive absorption of a Greek hegemonic culture, Elymians in Segesta signed treaties, formed alliances, and above all participated in the monumentalization of Sicily as a political strategy.

The key to the Elymian political strategy lies in their ability to appeal to the economic, ancestral, and religious sentiments of their neighbors. The unfinished temple at Segesta provides the only evidence for a large-scale project undertaken inland after the second quarter of the fifth century BCE. In the case of the temple at Contrada Mango, the Elymians at Segesta faithfully executed a Doric-style temple that appealed to the religious and iconographic sensibilities of mainland Greeks, especially to Athenians.

The overall picture of monumental architecture at inland indigenous sites, as exemplified by Segesta, represents a varied response both to internal social change and to Greek and Phoenician practices on the coasts—and probably not as the result of active Hellenization. The presence of Greeks at inland centers and adoption and adaptation of Greek or Phoenician sociocultural and religious customs by indigenous groups can be accommodated by a model of mutual exchange and an active role on the part of the Elymians.

V: Conclusion

In the sixth to fourth centuries, spurred by expansionist interests and economic prosperity, border lines in Sicily were drawn, redrawn, and invaded. The results in the archaeological and artistic record itself are a blurred and superficially homogenous material culture for Archaic Sicily. Conflict rose among Punic, Greek, and indigenous groups, and lasted more than a century—though no group is as present in this conflict as the native Elymians. Continued conflict was spurred among the inhabitants of the island until the Roman invasions in the late 3rd century BCE leveled Greek and Phoenician cities alike.

The disjunction of modern scholarship in the study of ancient Sicily, its history and art, is echoed in the delineation by ancient authors, all Greek or Roman—and none Phoenician or Punic. While Greek scholars have tracked the Hellenization of the eastern part of the island, those whose interests lie in western expansion track the interaction between Phoenicians and indigenous populations in the west. What results is a broad image of the hybridization of western Sicily, followed by stark Hellenization occurring in the sixth century with Greek westward expansion.

The two opposing narratives, Greek *versus* Phoenician/Punic negate the competing and at times equal distribution of power in western Sicily in the sixth to fourth centuries BCE. Military victories and the territories that were won and lost by Punics, Greeks, and Segestans stand in almost equal measure until Hannibal's rise to power advanced across Sicily in the late fifth century BCE. Cases studies presented here are concerned with sculpture and architecture that represent significant economic, time, and manpower investment, and offer a unique opportunity for the study of visual influences and borrowings between Greeks and Carthaginians during the Greco-Punic wars.

The most recent attempts to study the engagement between ancient populations of Sicily—notably either between Phoenicians and indigenous peoples or Greeks and indigenous peoples—are built from the available literary record, using archaeological evidence as confirmation. However, studying the archaeological and artistic record first, by looking at sculpture and architecture, with the literary record to fill in the gaps of understanding, the most revealing examples of influence will be seen. Indeed, archaeological discourse has been "concerned with the meaning of diversity within categories of material culture in their formal and decorative characteristics—their style—and the reciprocal relationship between material culture and society" for some time.[146]

To better understand the true mosaic of interaction of interculturation and multiculturalism in Archaic and early Classical Sicily, cases of hybridization must be studied multilaterally. Indigenous populations were certainly influenced by Greeks as they spread west across the island, as is clearly evidence in the art and material culture. Understanding the motive and agency indigenous populations played in this spread, however, already negates the colonial model of passive acculturation. Monumental building projects provide the greatest example of this influence, though as shown, the Temple of Segesta is less likely evidence of Greek identity infiltrating Elymian territory than a shrewd practice of propaganda for military and political gain.

Just as Greeks influenced indigenous and Punic art and material culture, so too was Greek material culture changed by the socio-political landscape of the island, seen most notably in the western territory of Selinous, which would have had more contact because of its geographical setting. Phoenicians too accepted Greek artistic styles and iconography in their own sacred spaces,

[146] Carla Antonaccio, "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture." (*The Cultures within Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration,* ed. by C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 57.

with the Motya Youth from the Sanctuary of Cappidazzu, and the Hellenic *stelai* from Selinous as prime examples. The Motya Youth represents the adoption of a Greek style in monumental sculpture, and a close interaction—at least between individuals—by the clear Greek craftsmanship. The stelai of Selinous show an acceptance of Greek styles, and a merging of Punic traditions of *tophet* sanctuaries with a Greek tradition baring unclean human remains within a sanctuary. The Doric temple at Segesta is a monumental example of an indigenous group who adopted Greek style and tradition to appeal to the socio-political and religious sensibilities of their would-be allies. All case studies show a productive value of the 200-year conflict between Greeks, Punics, and Elymians in western Sicily—the conflict itself a conduit for close contact and stylistic influence.

The conflict between Punics and Greeks in Sicily is generally understood as a history of division between the two cultures. This division is echoed in modern scholarship's separation between Greek and Phoenicians studies in Sicily. While the overall image provided by the Sicilian Wars is one of destruction and hostility, this continued interaction also provided a conduit for close contact and for an exchange of artistic ideas between Greeks and Carthaginians on the island. The entire period of conflict gives rise to a complex historical, social, political, and artistic narrative. Conflict provided the conduit for large investments in artistic and architectural works of all three groups, and the stylistic evidence shows that influence did not occur unilaterally. Rather, no one was left untouched by the close contact provided by these mounting hostilities, and neither was their art and material culture.

Table: Accepted Dates of Major Events in Ancient Sicilian History

Accepted Dates	**Major Events and Monuments**
743 BCE	Foundation of Naxos, first Greek *apoikia* in Sicily
734 BCE	Foundation of Syracuse
728 BCE	Foundation of Megara Hyblaea (possible)
688 BCE	Foundation of Gela
651 (or 621) BCE	Foundation of Selinous
600 BCE	Sacred demarcation of the Demeter Malophorus Sanctuary, Selinous
580 BCE	Foundation of Akragas, Battle of Lilybaion (First open war between Greeks, Punics, and Elymians in Sicily - Punic victory)
491 BCE	Rise of Gelon (first tyrant in the Deinomenid dynasty) to power
480 BCE	Battle of Himera (Greek victory), Battle of Thermopylae, Battle of Salamis
480-470 BCE	The accepted date range for the Motya Youth
474 BCE	Battle of Cumae (Greek victory)
466 BCE	Fall of Deinomenid Tyranny at Syracuse
461 BCE	*Lex Sacra* inscription from Selinous
416 BCE	Construction begins at the Temple of Segesta
416-413 BCE	Athenian failed expedition in Sicily (Sicilian-Greek victory)
410-405 BCE	Carthaginians capture most of Sicily (Himera and Selinous sacked 409, Akragas and Gela in 406)
400-250 BCE	The suggested date range of use for the *Campo di Stele* at Zeus Meilichios
397 BCE	Destruction of Motya by Dionysios I (Greek victory)
262 BCE	Segestan defection to Rome
250 BCE	Abandonment of Selinous

Figures

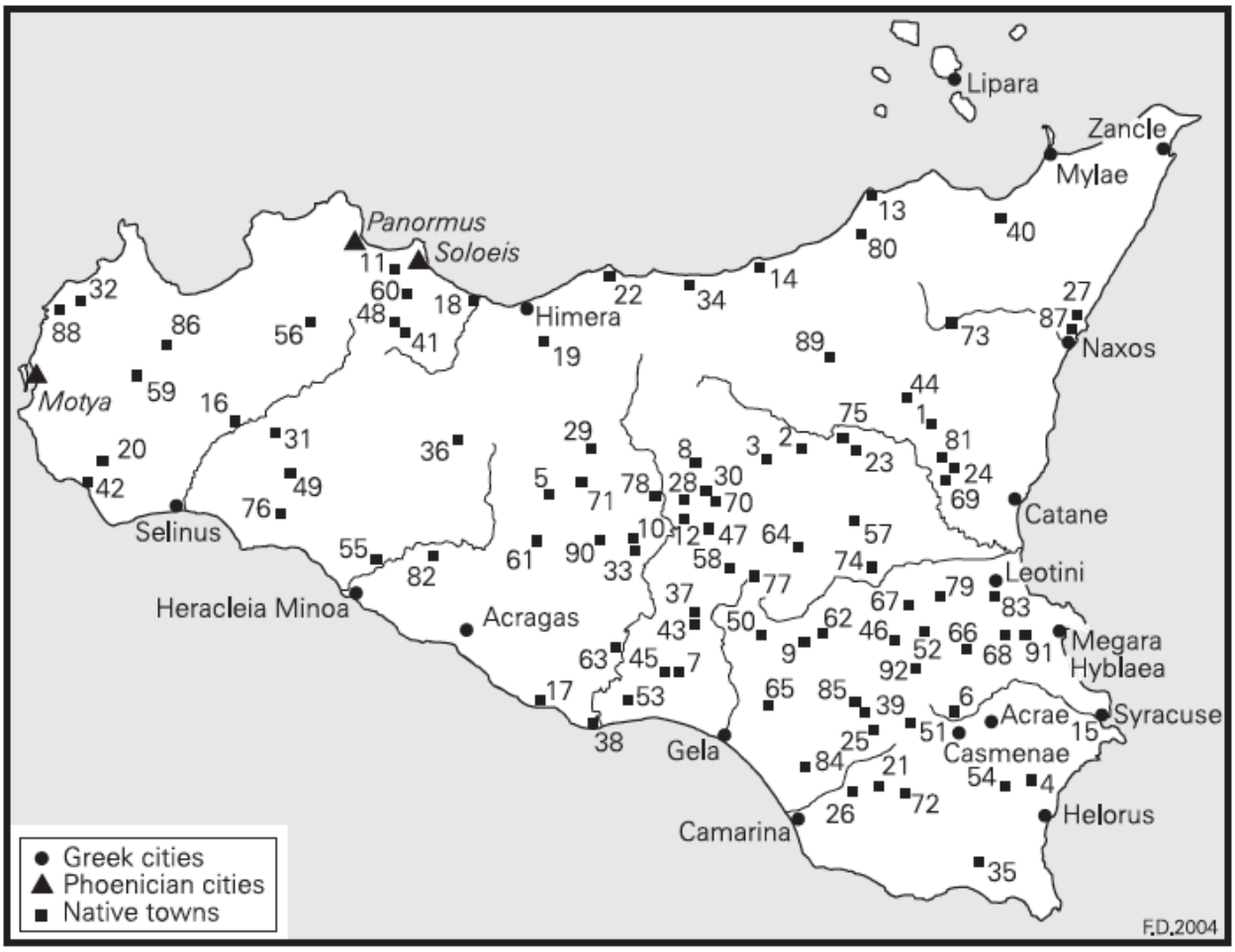

Fig. 1. Main sites in Sicily. Sites discussed in this thesis are Motya, Selinous, and Segesta (86). Source: Domínguez (2006) Fig. 1

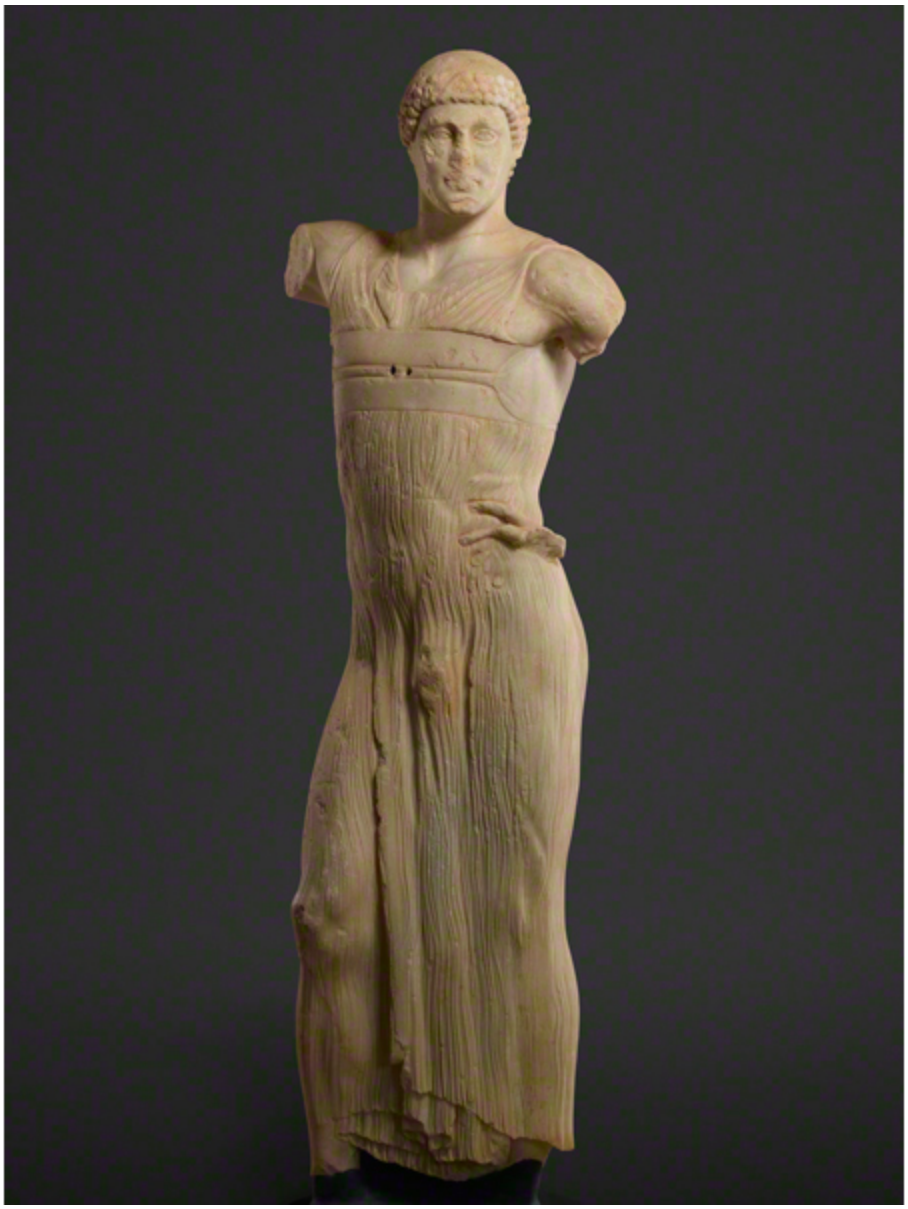

Fig. 2. *The Motya Youth, ca*. 480 BCE, Parian Marble. Source: Lyons, *et al.* (2013) Fig. 47

Fig. 3. Twin Herm, 4th century BCE, Local Limestone, Selinous. 21.5 × 20.8 × 8.5 cm (H x L x W). J. Paul Getty Museum, object number: 81.AA.135. Source: Author

Fig. 4. Twin Herm, 4th century BCE, Local Limestone, Selinous. 21.8 × 15.3 × 7 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, object number: 74.AA.44. Source: Author

Fig. 5. Doric Temple, late 5th c. BCE, Segesta, Sicily. Source: Public Domain

Fig. 6. Detail, *Motya Youth*. Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig, 12

Fig. 7. Detail, *Aristodikos Kouros*, *ca*. 500 BCE, Attica. National Archaeological Museum at Athens, Object number: 3938. Source: https://www.namuseum.gr/en/collection/archaiki-periodos/

Fig. 8. Detail: back, *Motya Youth.* Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig. 13

Fig. 9. Detail: top, *Motya Youth.* Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig. 16

Fig. 10. *Charioteer of Delphi,* 478 or 474 BCE, Delphi, Delphi Museum. Source: Public Domain, https://www.ancient-greece.org/art/chiarioteer.html

Fig. 11. Detail: belt, *Motya Youth,* Source: Detail from Lyons, *et al.* (2013), Fig. 47

Fig. 12. Silver Tetradrachm, *ca.* 440, Syracuse. BCE. Source: MANTIS (SNGANS.145)

Fig. 13. Detail: Karneios dancer, Volute krater, Karneia Painter, *ca.* 400 BCE, Southern Italy. Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig. 20

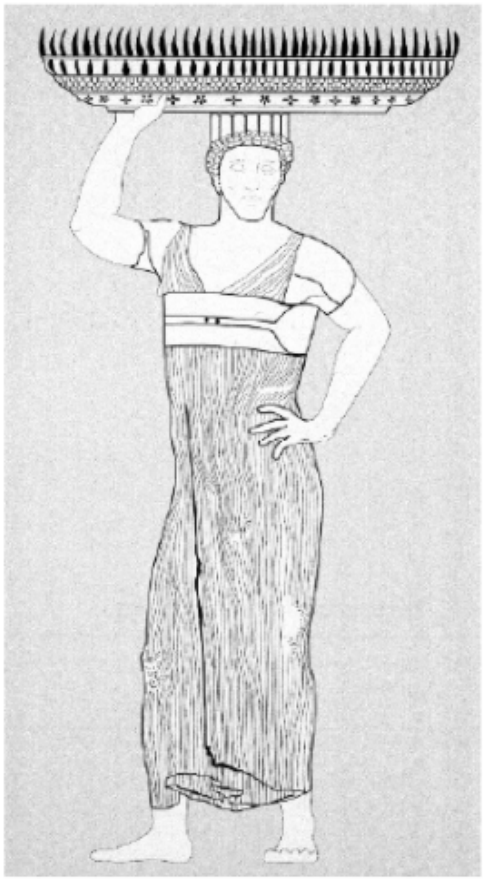

Fig. 14. *Motya Youth,* reconstruction with *kalathiskos* headpiece. Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig. 25

Fig. 15. Interior doorway to the Heröon from Trysa, with *kalathiskos* dancers flanking the doorway, *ca.* 380-370 BCE. Source: Papadopoulos (2014), Fig. 24

Fig. 16. Aristodikos Kouros, Reconstructed with Corinthian Helmet. Source: Palagia (2012)

Fig. 17. Helmet from the Battle of Cumae, dedicated at Olympia by Hieron I, *ca.* 474 BCE. The inscription reads: “Hieron, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans, [dedicated] to Zeus Etruscan [spoils] from Cumae”. British Museum, London, object number: 1823.0610.1. Source: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=399519&partId=1

Fig. 18. East Pediment from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, *ca.* 457 BCE. See Oinomaos (left) for stance similar to Motya Youth. Source: Author (2018)

Fig. 19. Motya Youth with relief sculptures of Greek priests. Source: Palagia (2012)

Fig. 20. Detail: damage to Motya Youth nose and mouth. Source: detail from Lyons *et al.* (2013) Fig. 47

Fig. 21. Detail: Orientalizing belt, Warrior Relief, Assyrian Palace Relief, 7th century BCE, Source: Detail from Palagia (2012)

Fig. 22. Detail: Drapery folds, *Motya Youth,* Source: Detail from Lyons *et al.* (2013), Fig. 47

Fig. 23. 1924 Photograph of the Zeus Meilichios Sanctuary with *Campo di Stele* seen beyond rear wall. Source: Gabrici (1927) Fig. 16

Fig. 24. Field of *stelai*, Salammbô, Carthage. Photo taken by Francis Kelsey of the University of Michigan in 1925. Source: White (1967), Fig. 13

Fig. 25. Punic Twin Herm, Selinous, 4th century BCE, Local Limestone, 22.3 × 13.2 × 6.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Object number: 81.AA.135. Source: Claire Lyons (2019)

Fig. 26. Votive Relief of Zeus Meilichios, Marble, Attica, *ca.* 330-320 BCE, 21 × 17.5 × 4.3 cm. Source: J. Paul Getty Museum, Object number: 73.AA.81. Source: Claire Lyons (2019)

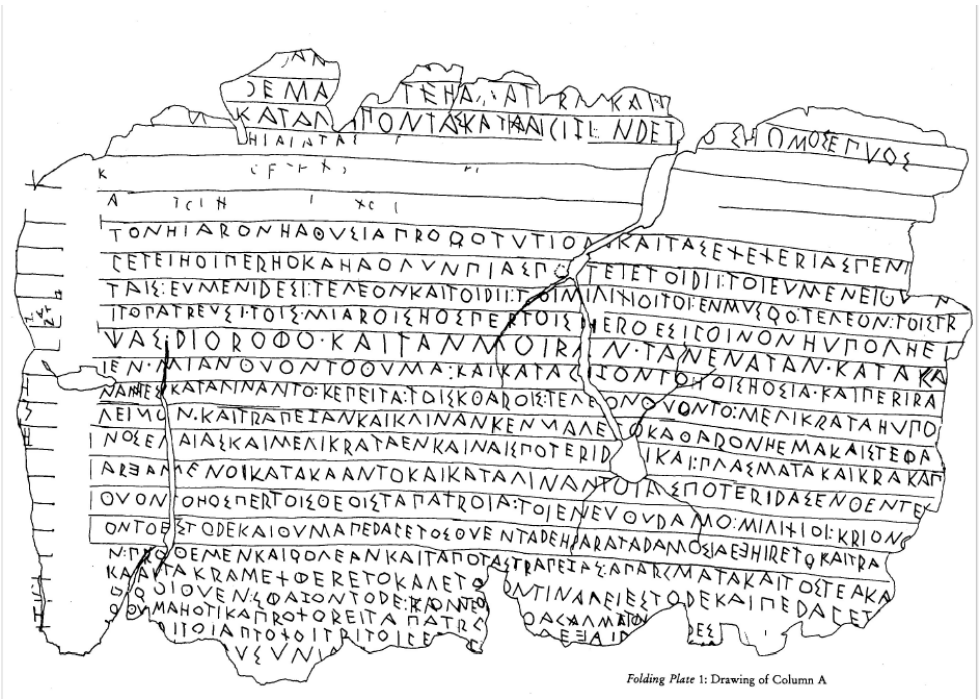

Fig. 27. Drawing of Column A, *Lex Sacra,* Selinous, *ca.* 461 BCE. Source: Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky (1993), Pl. 1

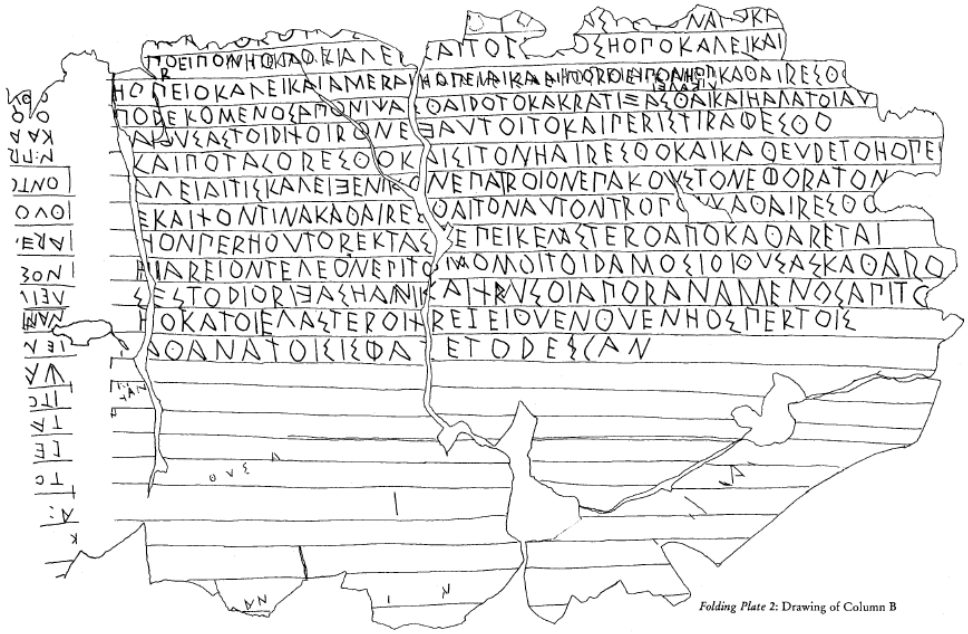

Fig. 28. Drawing of Column B, *Lex Sacra,* Selinous, *ca.* 461 BCE. Source: Jordan, Jameson, and Kotansky (1993), Pl. 2

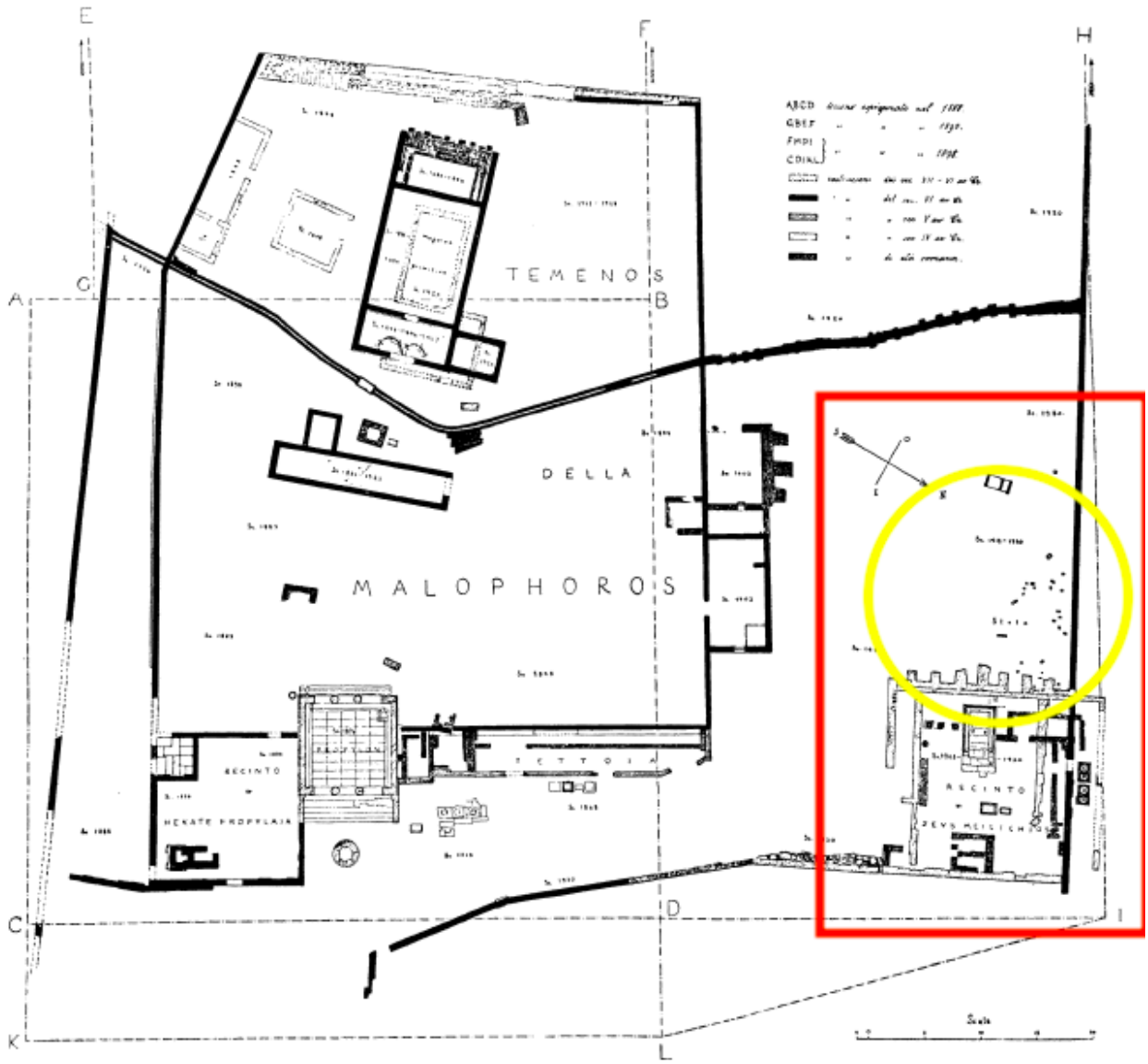

Fig. 29. Plan of Sanctuary. Complete area with dedication to Zeus Meilichios outlines in red, *Campo di stele* outlined in yellow. Source: Gabrici (1927), with highlighting by author

Fig. 30. Front, Miniature Altar, Limestone, Selinous, *ca.* 4th century BCE, 5.2 × 6.2 x 3.5 cm, Source: J. Paul Getty Museum, Object number: 81.AA.143, Source: Claire Lyons (2019)

Fig. 31. Detail: right side, Miniature Altar, Source: J. Paul Getty Museum, Object number: 81.AA.143, Source: Claire Lyons (2019)

Fig. 32. Map with the Imera-Salsa river valley marked in blue. Source: Public Domain

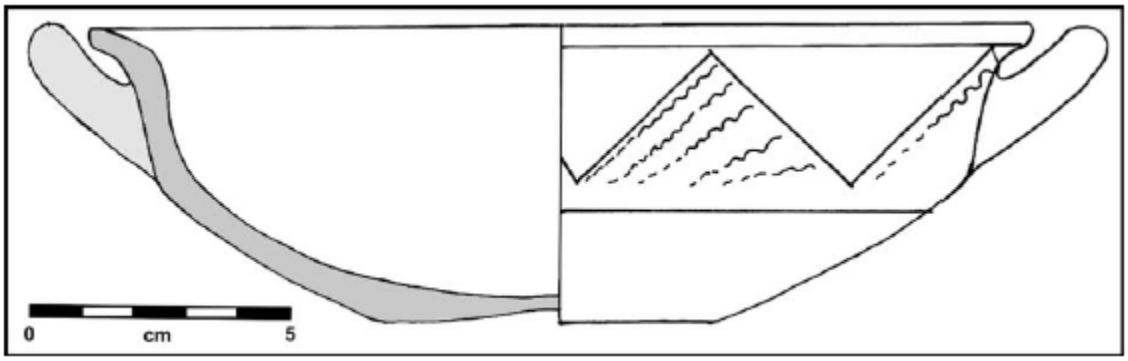

Fig. 33. Typical "*attingitoi*" cup with raised handles, in use from 9th to 5th centuries BCE, Source: Kolb and Speakman (2005), Fig. 1

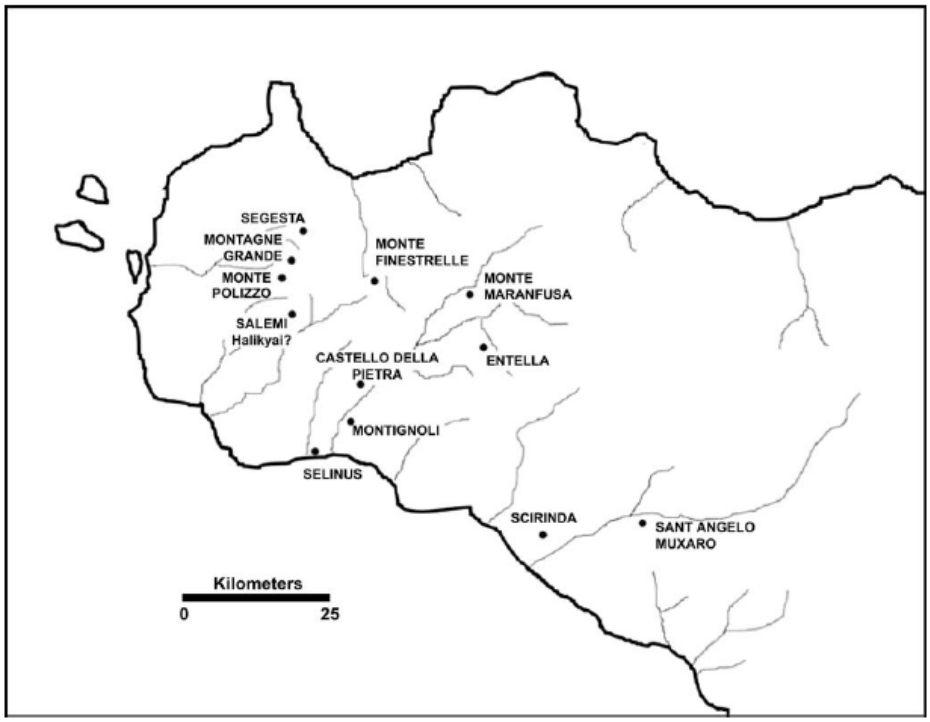

Fig. 34. Map of western Sicily; sites labeled in the recent study of regional styles point to a homogeneity in ceramic production from the 9th to 5th centuries BCE. Source: Kolb and Speakman (2005), Fig. 2

Fig. 35. Remains of the Temple of Nike at Himera, *ca.* 480 BCE. Source: Public Domain

Fig. 36. Greek Theater of Segesta, third century BCE, Source: Public Domain.

Fig. 37. Reconstruction of the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, *ca.* 380-370 BCE. Source: Alphonse Defrasse (1895)

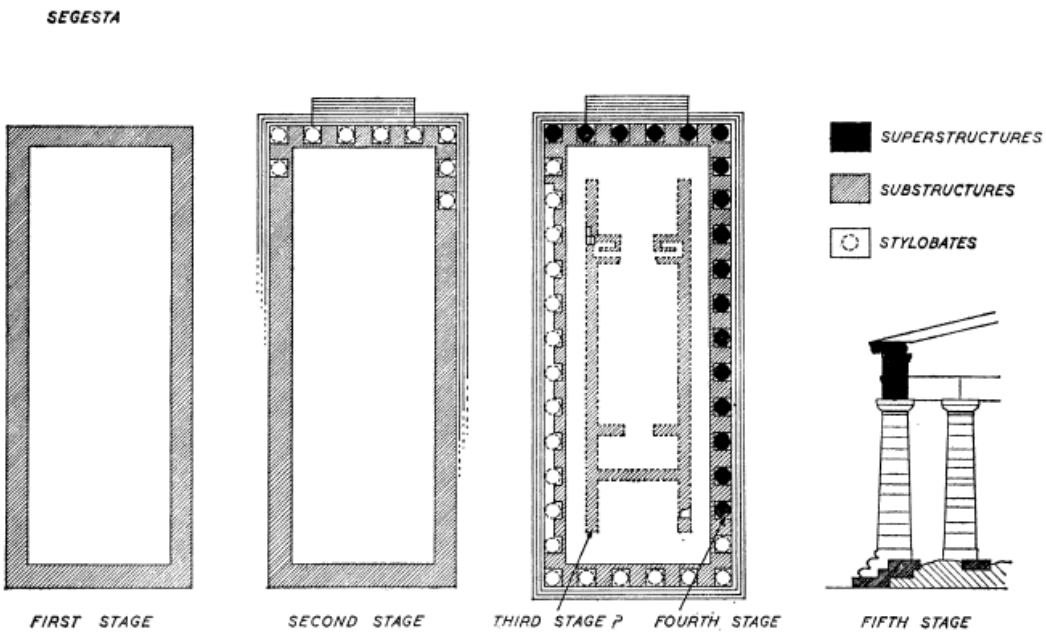

Fig. 38. Illustration of building phases at Segesta, based on Greek traditional model. Source: Burford (1961), p. 92

Fig. 39. Temple of Hephaestus, Athens, 449-415 BCE. Source: Public Domain

Fig. 40. Parthenon, Athens, 447-438 BCE. Source: Public Domain

Fig. 41. Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, *ca.* 500 BCE. Source: Public Domain

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